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ABSTRACT

Papers are provided from a conference intended to create awareness of social issues pertinent to adult education in an atmosphere of critical reflection and dialogue. An introduction discusses the basis of the International League for Social Commitment in Adult Education, which was formed at the conference. Invited authors' contributions are "International Relations, Lifelong Education, and Adult Education" (Ettore Gelpi); "Universities and Non-Formal Education: What Kind of Contribution?" (Paul Fordham); and "Social Commitment in Scandinavian Adult Education" (Robert Hoghielm, Odd Nordhaug). Selected authors' contributions are "The Individual, Human Needs, and Social Change: Towards a Reconceptualization" (Michael Law, Linda Sissons); "Adult Education and Social Change in Northern Ireland" (Tom Lovett); "Going about in Rough Waters: A Case Study of an Adult Education Organization Seeking to Become a Social Change Agent" (John Benseman); "Tocqueville, Participation, and Workplace Democracy as an Educative Force" (Norman Eiger); "Citizen Groups: Their Significance for Adult Education" (David Boggs); and "Development: A Cause for Commitment?" (George Palamattan). This panel presentation is also included: "Social Commitment in Public Continuing Education: Driving and Constraining Forces in the Public Delivery System for Adult Education in New York State" (Jack Ether, Joseph Mangano, Eugene Monaco, Jean Napper). (YLB)

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Robert Höghielm(ed.)

Rekindling Commitment in Adult Education

Conference Report 10-14 june 1984 at Rutgers State University, N.J.

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INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL COMMITMENT IN ADULT EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Although in recent years the field of Adult and Continuing education has grown significantly, there has been a decline in the social commitment and intellectual leadership that were once the heart of our profession. In many industrialized countries focus on technique has replaced concern for the learner and for society. Economic profit has replaced human growth and justice as the predominant professional value. In the developing world, issues of oppression and cultural imperialism stand out.

The initial organization of the International League for Social Commitment was facilitated by Rutgers University and Teachers College, Columbia University in the United States and the Stockholm Institute of Education, Sweden.

The conference "REKINDLING COMMITMENT" had two primary objectives:

1. To create awareness of social issues pertinent to adult education in an atmosphere of critical reflecion and dialoque.

2. To provide a ferum for the organization and development of the INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL COMMITMENT. This includes establishing governance procedures, expanding membership, and planning future action.

The Conference was at the Rutgers University Continuing Education Center, a residential facility located on the Rutgers Campus, New Brunswick, New Jersey, USA, on June 11-13, 1984.

Social commitment embodies and reaffirmation of humanistic values followed by concerted action designed to effect positive social change. The commitment of those who critically reflect, who care, and who have lived accordingly must be passed to others. Accordingly, the League is seeking as participants individuals and organizations who have the ability and desire to promote social growth through adult education. This includes, but is not limited to, universities - both faculties and students, agencies serving the adult learner, the individual practitioners.

During the conference "REKINDLING COMMITMENT" it was decided to form:

INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL COMMITMENT IN ADULT EDUCATION

Its charter is formulated as follows:

Preamble

Our grave concern over the social inequality and social injustice which exist in nations throughout the world, coupled with our firm belief in adult education as a powerful force for social change, have led us to create the International League for social Commitment in Adult Education, an organization dedicated to social equality, social justice, and collective and individual human rights.

Objectives

In order to advance the goals to which the League is dedicated, we propose to work toward the following seven objectives, both as a group and in our individual endeavours.

Objectives #1 to #4 expand upon our mission.

Objective #1: To encourage all those involved in adult education to foster participation in dialogue on the critical social issues confronting humankind today, such as class inequality, environmental concerns, peace, racism, sexism and ageism.

Objective #2: To encourage all those involved in adult education to identify and act to overcome the social, political and economic forces which perpetuate the existence of poverty, oppression, and political powerlessness.

Objective #3: To encourage all those involved in adult education to view and practise adult education as a vehicle to enable all adults to gain and exert control over their own lives.

Objective #4: To encourage all those involved in adult education to work with the poor, oppressed and politically powerless in learning activities which have social, political, economic, cultural and aesthetic import.

Objectives #5 to #7 address the need for enhanced social awareness among adult educators.

Objective #5: To encourage all adult educators to make explicit the ethics and values which guide their practice.

Objective #6: To encourage those responsible for the preparation of adult educators to provide not only for the enhancement of technical skills, but also for the critical examination of ethical and social issues.

Objective #7: To encourage the design, conduct and reporting of research and other forms of scholarship focusing on adult education as a force for social change.

Structure and Activities

The structure and activities of the League will reflect, without exception, its espoused goals of social equality and social justice, as well as a determination to preserve its international identity. To facilitate these ends, and to advance its objectives, the League will:

1. Hold biennial general meetings which will serve as an international forum for those involved in adult education and committed to the ideals of social equality, social justice and collective and individual human rights. The presentations at the meetings should reflect these ideals, in order that the League may retain a clear focus on social commitment rather than expand into a more general adult education association.

In order to maintain an international identity, no two consecutive meetings will be held in the same country.

2. Work toward securing the participation of people from as many nations as possible, both at the general conference and other Leaene endeavours.

3. Work toward establishing local affiliates for the purposes of information dissemination, mutual support, assessment of local issues, concerted action and recruitment.

4. Work toward establishing exchanges of persons among those involved in adult education from different nations.

5. Work toward initiating all the research needed to determine the efficacy of adult education as a process for social change.

6. Work toward developing mechanisms to facilitate the exchange of ideas, knowledge and resources among members and other concerned individuals and organizations.

7. Work toward forming linkages with those individuals, organizations and institutions with similar or complementary goals. Special efforts will be made to form linkages with radical movements and grassroots initiatives throughout the world.

Financing and membership

Membership can be on an individual basis or institutional. Membership fees ILSCAE are collected based on income converted to USdollars as follows:

Income

USdollars 25.000 and above	USdollars 25
15.000-24.999	15
5.000-14.999	10
under 5.000	5

Everyone should pay the USdollars 5 minimum, but the sliding scale should be advisory applied on the honor system without the requirement to stipulate one's income. To avoid extra costs please try to send USdollars.

Next conference

The next conference will be in Sweden from July 22nd to 26th 1985. More information is available from Robert Wenneke, Stockholm Institute of Education, Department of Educational Research, Box 34103, S-100 26 Stockholm, Sweden or Jan-Eric Persson, Lundskile Folk School, S-459 00 Ljungskile, Sweden.

Proceedings at the "rekindling commitment" conference

The proceedings were presented in seminars. A few of the contributions are also a result of rather informal discussions.(Those are presented in section three). The report consists of the following three main parts:

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December 1984, Robert Höghielm

PART ONE

INVITED AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

International Relations, Lifelong Education and Adult Education

- Key speech

by

Ettore Gelpi, UNESCO

1. I would like to share some findings on my experience of international relations in education. First of all, I have found that economic and technological relations are as relevant as ideological beliefs for establishing the main ties between countries. Secondly, that people in education at national and international levels are much more creative if they feel more closely bound to the people ant to scientific communities rather than just to institutions. Thirdly, that educators need to have a permanent training that cannot be only institutional but has to be developed in real life. Speaking of my personal training experiences, I have to say that I have received more new ideas and findings from people engaged in social and cultural movements than from the educational establishment.

Who is supporting international cooperation ? First of all, independent and creative intellectual communities which are capable of understanding international cooperation as a means for the construction of international democracy. They can support international cooperation advocating progressive policies and practices in international activities not on the basis of their own self-interest, but on that of cooperation leading to development and real justice among countries ; secondly, social and cultural movements which help international innovative practices and ask governments and international organisations to answer the emerging needs of the people in relation to their working and non-working life, and which refuse to become an instrument for reinforcing international conformity and meaningless compromises on culture and education. Thirdly, people in production (industria and rural workers, managers, union leaders, etc.) who question national and international educational and cultural structures in order to cope with the problems that they are facing within the productive system. Fourthly, scientific and

artistic creators and researchers who offer new findings and produce new cultural values, thereby ridiculing moralistic and rhetoric education and fighting all the various forms of censorship.

2. Education for international understanding and cooperation is a growing field in many countries : it is possible to find programmes of this nature in universities, in schools, in adult education, but these programmes often have to be radically changed if they want to become meaningful. Today mankind does not need verbal declarations on international understanding or vague intercultural exchanges. It needs concrete, scientific, technical, cultural, economic projects that reinforce the capacity for self-development of the countries on the periphery. For this very reason, education for international cooperation has to be action-oriented, rich in knowledge of concrete problems of national and international societies, but we are very far from this approach.

Young people in many countries are ready to engage in national and international projects to react against conservative trends that are paralysing a more equal developmen among different countries of the world. Formal education systems prepare a significant number of qualified young people but qualified youth is often paralysed, because of the lack of work, meaningful projects and creative involvement in their society.

We are presently witnessing a regression regarding policies development, the search for strategical alternatives in the use of natural resources and the creation and reinforcement of activities in the field of international cooperation. In the 70's, there was a concern for new trends. Today, it seems that the main concern is to convince wealthy people in the wealthy countries to consume more and more.

Are these trends inevitable ? Is it possible to start thinking again of positive alternative approaches to (a) transfers of technology, (b) creation of new services, (c) types of consumption, etc. ? Can adult education contribute to the building of an international democracy that means more equal relations between countries, social groups and people, belonging to different civilizations ? The achievement of international democracy is the result of new international economic relations, but maybe education can contribute, directly and indirectly.

A new international educational order is a condition and a consequence of new international economic relations. Mankind cannot last very long if the differences created in material conditions and qualities of life are such that people and countries are hard put to understand each other and to communicate among themselves.

3. Intercultural exchanges can become a relevant new frontier for adult education. People know very little and very superficially about other countries with whom economic cooperation is often growing quite fast. In a closely inter-related world, history and contemporary culture can becom positive way to enrich ourselves without depriving other people. Non-material consumption is maybe part of the perspective of progress for industrial societies. Creative adult education can become a relevant instrument for the new aesthetic, scientific and progressive adventures of mankind.

In this perspective, educators will need new relevant cultural training and living cultural experiences ; otherwi education can become self-defeating and even an obstacle to education. In several societies, educators are disseminatin old values and resist the new emerging ones. Educators have to be in close touch with the outside world, in order to develop a full and creative use of human resources but, at the same time, they have to resist educational guidelines that are imposed on educational structures by those who try manipulate educational activities.

But who and where are the creative educators ? Emerging educational needs are creating relevant educators : leisure time, new systems of production, forced free time during unemployment, mass media and consumption are the new time and space for education, and out of this time and space, new adult educators with specific practical skills are arising. But non-professional educators seem to be feared : are they not provoking "crisis", "ruptures", "doubts" within the educational system and threatening the existing power structures ?

Why is there this gap between education supply and potential users of education ? Boredom, academic games, vested interest in national and international educational networks, bureaucratic resistance, are a very strong barrier against relevant educational policies and meaningful educational practices. Creative strategies are needed to allow better cooperation between innovative people in societies and educational institutions.

4. National, regional and international projects in education are needed to cope with social and cultural demands.

Youth is asking for better integration into the social and economic environment. Developing countries are struggling for a more equal share of natural and technical resources, marginal social groups want to be considered an integral part of their society, and still projects are failing short of providing an answer to these demands.

Is adult education capable of generating new ideas, projects and practices ? Can traditional adult education institutions come up with new approaches ? What can be done to involve the people, movements, individuals, countries who are the new educational actors ? How can professional educators work with them without manipulating them ?

There is nothing new in the assertion that adult education is becoming a big market for selling and buying education.

Demagogical and moral words are still used to cover up this reality. To build one's life on the basis of professional education is not negative, on the contrary, what is important is to avoid confusion, manipulation and useless activities just because money and power are involved, and many providers and users of education are unaware of the educational games and tricks.

Adult educators are often leading their programmes to failure because they have little knowledge of the sociological and anthropological nature of the new education seekers that are involved in education. A serious effort has to be made to qualify educators through theoretical studies and through field work, related to emerging educational needs and to the new sections of the publics.

The creativity, generosity and openness of adult educators are maybe the real prerequisites for efficient educational activities : these gifts are the motivating ones, because they generate the curiosity, interest and will to be involved in activities that are often costly for youth and adults.

5. The crisis affecting school teachers is also affecting adult educators, and the main reason for this crisis is the discrepancy between the knowledge asked for by the students or even possessed by these students, and the knowledge of the educators. Today the generation gap means that older people lack relevant knowledge. In many countries adult educators are the inheritors of some ressources that in the past were channelled to schools : is adult education using or misusing these new available funds ? What are the differences between the more formal schooling and the less formal adult education ? A careful comparative analysis between school and adult education shows that very often conformity, lack of aesthetic values and poor creativity are not peculiar to the school-system.

6. Theory and practice : their dialectical relations today imply the need for creativity in both. Contemporary societies ask for new theoretical foundations of education dealing with the new meaning of knowledge and education, as well as of the nature of scientific, technological and educational transfers. Practice can nourish new theories and, at the same time, needs a wider theoretical background including new disciplines. Adult education, and not just school education, have worked very poorly in this direction. Scientific and technological inputs have been very modest indeed because of the cultural, psychological and personal resistance of the world of education.

One of the main difficulties for educators is to prepare for an unknown future : future functions in social, economic and political life are likely to be different from those of today for the great majority of people and educational institutions have difficulty in forecasting these changes. The revolution of productive structures is accelerating in a way unprecedented in the history of mankind. Therefore the most urgent task for adult education is maybe a new initial training, and not only the retraining, of teachers and adult educators. Unions and teachers' unions, if they represent collective interests, have indeed to anticipate these educational trends and not resist them.

The new relevance of education is often not perceived by educators : education is not only a preparatory activity for work, but is also becoming one of the most relevant productive activities and a significant part of the daily lif of everyone. Many people spend as much time in educational activities as they do at work. Educational services, whether independent or integrated with information services, are the most significant part of the productive sector in the field of services, research and development.

7. What about education as an instrument for preventing and blocking education ? It seems a paradox but it can be and is sometimes a reality. Why are new educational ideas

only in a few cases emerging from the educational establishment ? Why are schools and adult education institutions sometimes an instrument for disseminating propaganda and conservative values among youth ?

Repression of creativity in the East and in the West, in the North and in the South : education can play a positive, or a negative role in this respect. Educators can become an instrument for normalization, or they can appreciate emerging creativity and new values.

Educational theories are emerging through struggles, observations and various forms of creativity, but they cannot be prescriptive because they have to be tested. Therefore contents, methods and techniques in adult education need new consideration.

8. The contradiction between educational ideologies in the east and in the west, on the one hand, and the power and social structures of these societies on the other, is giving rise to new educational experiences in several countries that are more coherent with the democratic educational ideologies that are proclaimed and boasted. "Flying universities" in the east, "peace-movements" in the west are just a few examples of educational practices that are welcome by the great majority of people, who are dissatisfied with the contents and with the social selection imposed by the formal and non-formal educational structures of industrial societies (free market and planned economy).

I have a strong impression that real educational innovations are the result of the creativity and personal risks taken by people fighting in their social and productive life to improve working and social conditions for their colleagues and for themselves. It is only after these innovative experiences that the more institutional and academic educational world is ready to think about and to introduce new educational policies and practices. Permanent relations with these creative and motivated people are maybe the condition for the development of meaningful education.

A bridge between the personal and the political dimension of education has to be established. Too often, these two dimensions are separate. On the one hand, there is education which addresses psychological problems, personal relations, etc., on the otherhand, a political and ideological education which offers a purely deterministic social and economic interpretation of human beings. These two uni-dimensional approaches lead in many cases to irrelevant education, because something is missing. "Marx" and "Freud" are both relevant for educators, but many times one of these references is lost, and the further reaction to this oversight is again a uni-dimensional approach.

9. Adult education, at least of the institutional kind, is not coping with emerging knowledge in science, technology, arts, economies and political economy. The adult educational world is very often a closed one. Therefore, research in adult education, and not only adult educational practices, have also to be developed outside the educational world with a contribution from people other than educators in the traditional sense and using scientific methods and avoiding, if possible, traditional educational conformity.

New findings in human and natural sciences, as well as in technology, do not circulate as often as they should within the adult education world. New thinkers, novelists, scientists do not seem to be that familiar to adult educators. Therefore, the political and sociological analysis of adult educators is often weak on national, as well as on international issues. Ignorance, taboos, and prejudices are more frequent among adult educationalists than, for example, among atomic scientists : look at their respective publications and you will be surprised at the difference. Are the latter too relevant and the former too marginal to the main contemporary issues ?

New technologies in the productive process are interpreted quite differently, as far as the skilling and deskilling of people is concerned. For some researchers the skilling is not a risk, because workers involved in new technologies

are exposed to different types of new knowledge. For others, new technologies mean an increase in the commodity status of labour power, but for the moment adult educators are still far from this debate. They seem to be concerned only with the vocational aspect of new technologies.

The redefinition of work is going on in the productive system, because of new technologies, new patterns of organization, job sharing, etc. But the world of education has some difficulty in understanding these transformations and in anticipating the implications. The relationship between work and education is often reduced to adaptation, or vocational training. A concern for more open and creative education is proclaimed, but with poor implications for the educational process. The creation of jobs through education and culture seems to be more a verbal declaration than a real policy.

The world of adult education seems to adapt himself very fast to outside pressure. The transition from liberal to vocational education seems to go on with very limited critical analysis. New models of development (the pure satisfaction of the consumption needs of industrial society) are accepted even if they are in regression with respect to some models proposed in the seventies. Do adult educators have a say concerning new values and models of development in our contemporary societies ?

10. Technological transfers are one of the most relevant aspects of international exchange, but these transfers are often imposed on countries without any kind of negotiation. International organizations are absent, or very weak in this process. Technologies and new scientific findings are needed and useful if they can be introduced in a fair and coherent way with respect to cultural identity and to the economic and social development of societies concerned by these transfers within north-south, north-north and south-south relations. These transfers have direct implications for further vocational training, but also indirect implications for initial training.

The developing countries are often dissatisfied with the vague educational propositions that are coming from the industrial countries. There are immediate needs, and people want to find educational answers and very concrete ones within the country and outside. International cooperation has to find an answer to these demands, but at the same time countries and international organizations have to acknowledge that new objectives in education require new coherent contents, methods and techniques. The history of international cooperation in education records many useless activities because of the export and transfer of irrelevant educational plans, contents, methodologies and technologies

11. Developing countries are not so much interested in finding in comparative education some pieces to import into their own systems, but ask for a new perspectiv of education on an international basis. The progressive educators of developing countries ask for more world-wide involvement of progressive people in industrial countries. Educational struggles are common to the North and the South and cannot be separated. Sociological analysis shows that new educational policies and practices in most countries can come from within and from outside. Pure autarky is not possible anymore, therefore comparative education cannot be a purely intellectual analysis of different educational practices and policies.

Comparative education can be, and in some cases is, an instrument for domination and for reinforcing the traditional and conservative educational establishment. New educational experiences are developing all over the world in institutions and outside, but the richness of the experiences very seldom contributes to the different educational systems, because educational information is not always selected according to progressive criteria. The gap between developed and developing countries, concerning information and documentation, is growing fast and new dependences are developing because of this gap.

Adult education models are imposed from outside on many countries, because computers and documentation centres are connecting and distributing data coming from only a limited number of countries. Access to information is widening according to the wealth of a country and to the power of individual and social groups. New inequalities are arising within the educational world, because of different positions with respect to the access to information.

Progressive people have difficulty in communicating, because national progressive experiences are often censored and repressed at the national and at the international level. The cost of international communication means difficulties for creative and independent people to communicate, and to work together.

The building of an international society also needs international curricula for initial and further training. If we look at the content of education in many countries, we find that many foreign countries are still presented in a very marginal and folkloric way. Few efforts are made to give a full understanding of other societies. The failures of several adult education programmes, within the framework of international cooperation, have their origin, among other reasons, in the great ignorance of adult educators who are sent abroad.

12. Networks in adult education can become an instrument for further dependance, or on the contrary a useful tool for independance and interdependance. Powerful countries can project their models and contents of education on countries on the periphery, they can chose for them the main aspects of education to develop, and they can deal with some leaders to the exclusion of others (and many times, the others are the real ones!). For this reason, networks have to be developed on clear objectives and not only on nominal ones. Adult education for what and adult education by and for whom ?

The growing relevance of international activities needs new qualified people with a full understanding of international life. In many countries there is an explosion of international communication and cooperation but very often open-minded and qualified personnel are lacking. International exchanges, international civil services and national civil services, open to international life, are becoming a relevant sector of the new services, and adult education can be a part of these new activities.

The growing field of international cooperation has limited established rules ; therefore, there is a need for some kind of collective self-management through which the people can take responsibility for international cooperation. It is not easy to introduce collective self-management in national or international structures, but it is the only answer, otherwise the lack of involvement decision, and concern of wealthy countries for the more peripheral ones can lead to limited, inefficient and marginal international action.

Can lifelong education contribute to more courageous individual and collective responsibilities in international cooperation ? Is lifelong education therefore for a deeper concern and responsibility for the quality of life for more than 4.3 billion people (1983) up to 6 billion (2000) ? For the creation of 1 billion new jobs (from now to year 2000) ? for the eradication of illiteracy for more than 700 million people ? For safe water for 1 billion people ? For life and peace against death, prisons, camps, starvation it is an ambitious goal but maybe the most challenging one.

These notes are an invitation to think more creatively on educational relations between North and South and within the countries. Theoretical and empirical research are needed ; education is not an ordinary commodity to give or take away. All countries have educational and cultural traditions and all countries need to develop further their culture and their education.

Ettore GELPI

Paul Fordham
University of Southampton

Universities and Non-Formal Education: what kind of contribution?

Introduction

The main focus of this paper is to consider two questions: (a) whether or not universities have a contribution to make in non-formal education and, (b) if they have, how can they best make it. As Tom Lovett pointed out in a previous paper, universities have major difficulties when it comes to making a commitment to NFE (or, as he described it, 'community and social action').

The paper uses a particular project for its main illustrative material. The New Communities Project - conducted at the University of Southampton from 1973 to 1976 is fully described in the book Learning Networks: non-formal education on a housing estate. (1) But I want to use experience in this project to try and answer the wider questions suggested by the title to the paper.

There has recently been much debate in the UK - and this continues - about an increased commitment to 'continuing education'.(2) For most institutions this is likely to mean more post-experience vocational courses either leading to postgraduate awards or in the form of short up-dating courses - many of which can be made to pay for themselves or for which industry provides the funds. This, together with severe resource constraints generally, is likely to lead away from the kind of social commitment towards which we were working in the middle 1970s. I say this not to suggest that similar work is impossible, but to emphasise that we were then working in a much more favourable political and economic climate than exists in the 1980s.

Let me begin with two assumptions. Firstly, the social commitment of universities through involvement in NFE is difficult. They see themselves at the apex of an educational pyramid and are highly selective, highly élitist institutions, much more so in the UK than the US. If a concern for issues like poverty and unemployment is seen at all in the context of university adult education, then they are often viewed by the universities in general as a kind of off-campus social work, rather than a proper kind of education. After all, the major teaching function of universities is concerned with the education, training and subsequent privilege of a small élite group. It is inevitable that a very high proportion of any university's collective energy and talent should be concentrated on undergraduate/postgraduate teaching and its accompanying research. Constant association with the very talented and the very privileged élite group involved in all this makes it very difficult for universities to re-orient themselves to the needs of the poor, the main concern of the non-formal educator.

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1. Paul Fordham, Geoff Poulton and Lawrence Randle, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.

2. e.g. University Grants Committee, Report of the Continuing Education Working Party, January 1984.

My second assumption is that the isolation of universities from NFE would be very damaging, both to themselves and to the wider society, creating an ever increasing gulf between the interests of the élite and the rest. We need to build on the research and experience which does exist in some corners of our universities and we need to mobilise all the talent available, if social commitment is really to be re-kindled.

These issues are often seen more clearly in a third world context than they are in the west. Concepts of development which involve a determined attack on mass poverty, progress towards social transformation and an increase in popular participation inevitably place the adult educator much closer to the interface of education and politics than is comfortable for many western educators. We like to be pragmatic, we like to pretend we are not committed in any clear ideological way even though probably most of us are. It was partly in recognition of that lack of clarity about purpose that we used the 'non-formal' concept as a descriptor in our own project.(3)

We should perhaps begin with the crucial interface between adult education and politics. In parts of the third world they are less diffident than we are about speaking of the poor; we escape into words like deprivation or disadvantage. However, seen from a third world perspective, the whole question of positive discrimination is inevitably linked with a desire to move away from the political, economic or social status quo. As President Nyerere put it in 1976:

The term 'non-formal' was invented by development planners rather than educators and does not appear to have been used before the late 1960s. It arose largely in a third world context as part of the 1970s search for alternatives in both educational and development strategies. Education in relation to national development goals must now reckon with more concern for employment prospects, social equity and participation by those who have received little benefit from past development efforts. As a result, the former unquestioning expansion of 'end on' formal systems of education has given way to a new emphasis on the importance of out-of-school non-formal education - what most readers of this paper would almost certainly want to call 'adult education'. However, the latter term was seen as too narrow in a world context (often confined to literacy or university extra-mural classes). What was wanted was a term which would include the vocational as well as the non-vocational education of adults.

Inevitably the non-formal idea is to some extent a reaction against some of the failures of formal schools; these are frequently seen as dysfunctional in relation to development goals. High costs, an unequal distribution of resources, a concentration on preparation for the next stage of learning rather than for life, the unemployment of many school leavers - these are just some of the dis-satisfactions being expressed in third world and development literature. But they are also similar to the dis-satisfactions with formal schools expressed by participants in our own project. Moreover, the concern to do something about employment prospects, the unequal distribution of resources and relative poverty makes the same kind of sense in our own under-developed areas as it does among the third world poor.

> 'A Man learns because he wants to do something. . . . . .
> Adult education will promote changes in men, and in society. And it means that adult education should promote change, at the same time as it assists men to control both the change which they induce, and that which is forced upon them by the decisions of other men or the cataclysms of nature....
>
> In that case, the first function of adult education is to inspire both a desire for change, and an understanding that change is possible.' (4)

In a conference to 're-kindle commitment' that seems a neat encapsulation of what we should be about.

Aims and Values

The work we were doing in the New Communities Project was certainly an important learning experience for us. We began with a rather simplistic view of our own product - that the kind of adult education we sought to promote would be instantly more acceptable if only we could advertise it better. Thus the original aim of the Project was to increase participation in existing adult education programmes on a large municipal housing estate with a population of some 40,000. We made the assumption that:

> adult education should seek to serve the whole community and not merely those sectors of it who currently take advantage of what is provided....Although adult classes are likely to remain a minority taste, there seems no reason why this should remain an unrepresentative minority.

We were stimulated by the work of Jackson and Lovett in Liverpool (5) and by other current work in community development, both in the UK and elsewhere. And, as our work developed, we came increasingly to adopt a position much influenced by Paulo Freire. Nevertheless, the starting point was not so much these external influences as the established adult education tradition in UK universities themselves: the liberal tradition and the liberal values which underpin it. Three ideas were dominant (6). The first is that of dialogue and negotiation with the intended participants about what to teach in what way and to whom: the view that even if you start with a pre-determined product you should be prepared to talk about it and modify it. One of the things we learned first of all in that process of dialogue was that our product was not particularly wanted. We were not offering the kind of adult education we came later to see as necessary.

4. J.K. Nyerere, 'Development is for Man, by Man, and of Man: The Declaration of Dar es Salaam', in B.L. Hall and R.J. Kidd (Eds), Adult Learning: a Design for Action, Pergamon Press, 1978, pp 28-9.

5. Tom Lovett, Adult Education, Community Development and the Working Class, Second edition, 1983, Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham.

6. 'A View from the Wall: Commitment and purposes in University Adult Education' in International Journal of Lifelong Education, 2.4, 1983.

Action and Research

The New Communities Project was designed from the first to influence adult education policy and to improve adult education provision. It was in the same tradition of 'experimental social administration'(8) as the Educational Priority Area experiments and the Community Development Projects - though on a much smaller scale. We then believed in the kind of action research which Halsey has defined as 'small scale intervention in the functioning of the real world...and the close examination of the effects...; this, it was thought, would lead to a 'set of field tested proposals for action'.(9) This did not happen with anything like the precision we thought possible. Some of the reasons for this are outlined later in this paper, but the research strategy was itself influential in determining outcomes.

First of all there was no separation between action and research; two research fellows were expected to do both jobs. Inevitably they were drawn to the kind of participatory research which has become increasingly important in adult education.(10) There was both a methodological and an ideological component in this research strategy. And the strategy

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7. Fordham, Poulton and Randle, p.5.

8. A.H. Halsey, Educational Priority, Vol.1., HMSO, 1972

9. Ibid., p.165

10. See Budd L. Hall, 'Breaking the Monopoly of Knowledge: Research Methods, Participation and Development' in B. L. Hall and J. R. Kidd (eds), Adult Learning: a design for action, Pergamon, 1978.

itself was much influenced by recent phenomenological approaches to social research.(11) All these approaches show a distrust of quantification per se, particularly survey methods, as inadequate by itself to understand the complexities of social reality. They also frequently seek to involve local people as active agents in the research process rather than seeing them as passive objects of study.

Our own Project was concerned not only to involve local people, but also to ensure that the research process itself was of direct benefit to them. 'Research' was an integral part of the totality of educational experiences stimulated by the Project. And it was seen as a continuing dialogue over time rather than as an external evaluation of specific action programmes. There is a close similarity here with results in community development research described by George Smith as 'an alternative role for research and evaluation trying to emerge'. This alternative role:

> opens up possibilities by presenting the range of effects from any change and bringing forward the attitudes of otherwise unrepresented groups...Set against the grand claims for field tested social policy this may seem small return for the blood and sweat spent on action research, but it could lead to more rational and more complex decision making...(12)

As Halsey has expressed it, research in policy formation has to develop 'organically' rather than'mechanically'. Action research is unlikely to yield neat and definite prescriptions from field tested plans. What it offers is an aid to intelligent decision making, not a substitute for it.(13)

What needs to be noted here however, is that participatory research goes well beyond Halsey's formulation. Participatory research methods also link closely with trends towards more popular participation in programme planning; indeed the one merges into the other on many occasions. In the NCP, the production of a community magazine was at one and the same time an investigation into possibilities and problems, an integral part of learning (about business management, writing, advertising and so on) and a programme of action. It was also a communication channel through which local opinions, wants and ideas about adult education programmes could be expressed.

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11. See M. Pilsworth and R. Ruddock, 'Some Criticisms of Survey Research Methods in Adult Education', in Convergence, 7, 2, pp.25-33, 1975 and M. Parlett and D. Hamilton, 'Evaluation as Illumination' in Curriculum Evaluation Today: Trends and Implications, Macmillan Education, 1976.

12. R. Lees and G. Smith, Action Research in Community Development, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975, p.192.

13. A.H. Halsey, op. cit. pp 178-179.

As Budd Hall and other have noted (14), in all such activities, distinctions between 'research', 'teaching' and 'learning' - and between all of these and action - are deliberately blurred. Indeed, one of the great strengths of participatory research is that it can never be a remote or abstract process, or even something to be feared; instead it becomes an integral part of learning. It was from these and similar methods of investigation that the New Communities Project reached certain conclusions about future policy towards non-participating groups.

Creating a Climate of Opinion

A central feature of our work in Leigh Park involved close co-operation with other agencies. We were engaged in research and in the learning and action which stemmed from it; but we were also helping to inform the provision of others (local schools, the local educational and social services, the churches).

In gaining wider university support, the research element was clearly very important. Simply to suggest non-formal activities by themselves would have been to invite criticism from more orthodox colleagues. But to approach an NFE contribution through research (however unorthodox) made it possible to move forward to a point where the Project was seen as increasing the regional effectiveness of the University in other areas as well (e.g. social work).

In creating the right climate of opinion in the universities the last point can be very important. The case for the universities' wider commitment rests not merely on the need to demonstrate something in return for their high costs nor even on an acceptance that some gesture towards social relevance may be necessary; in the end it must also rest on the conviction that the inner core of a university's teaching and research - its curriculum and its research base - can only remain genuinely on the frontiers of knowledge if it is also sensitive to clearly expressed societal needs.

Now universities do not always take kindly to the admonitions of persons outside of themselves and this can sometimes lead to sterile clashes between the academic authorities and the society's political leadership; this is most commonly expressed as an 'academic freedom' versus political/social 'relevance' argument. In fact both are required, for one strength of universities is their autonomy.

The known views of the titular head of the university or statements by authoritative national university committees are likely to be an important first step in creating the right climate of opinion. One example of such a statement comes from the Indian University Grants Commission 1978.

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14. Hall and Kidd, op. cit., p.183.

The Indian universities have no long tradition of close involvement with adult and continuing education, and with the exception of some agricultural universities there has been little attempt until recently to add a wider extension role to their rather formal approach to teaching and research. Now, with a lead from the UGC, all that is changing very rapidly. The UGC's 1978 statement (15) gives unequivocal support to a major university commitment in this area. As well as the preservation, transmission and extension of knowledge, the UGC argues for universities to realise

> the need for carrying knowledge and skills to people in all walks of life and to accept service to the community as one of their important responsibilities.
>
> In order to discharge its responsibility to the education system and to the society as a whole, the university must assume adult education and extension as an important responsibility and give it the same status as teaching and research. These should be made an integral part of the objectives and functions of the university/college.
>
> It is important to establish an organic link between adult education/ extension and university curricula. The former should not be looked upon merely as a welfare activity for the deprived social groups, but as a process of interaction with the society leading to valuable learning experience and as a means for making higher education relevant to the needs of the society and orientated towards a solution of existing problems. Without such interaction on a continuing basis, the universities will remain isolated from the society and their programmes out of tune with the reality around them.

Some Lessons from the New Communities Project

As I indicated earlier, the kind of adult education we were providing at the beginning - the formal liberal arts programmes of the University and the more practical and recreational classes of the local government - was not what people said they wanted. As one subsequently successful student put it (who later went on to an Open University degree), 'I didn't set out to have a learning experience'. We had to begin with non-educational activities, many of them of a 'community work' kind: a holiday play scheme, single parent family group, drop-in facilities for the young unemployed. Adult educators must be prepared to work in the grey area between education and social work. Increasing access to adult education in working class areas requires much closer involvement in non-educational activities than would be usual for most adult education organisers. At this level it is not possible to place adult education and community work in separate compartments. Nor is it possible to isolate adult education from its immediate social context; this must be the starting point for learning. The Project's first working principle - that 'the growth of

15. Adult Education and Extension Programmes: Guidelines, UGC, New Delhi, 1978

If that kind of activity is important, as I think most people at this Conference would accept, and if my assumptions about university participation are relevant, then how do we create a climate of opinion in universities which will enable universities to go on participating in this sort of activity, responding to social problems which are evidently there and also increasing in all our societies? At the very moment, indeed, when the demands of society (as expressed by those in charge) seem to be for high-tech retraining rather than for socially committed adult education, how do we establish a climate of opinion where universities can go on making a contribution to NFE? I will suggest three that we might like to talk about.

Socially committed adult education, in Britain at any rate, is now much more outside the universities than it is inside them. There was a time when this was not true; a time when socially committed adult education was very much associated with universities and with the work of the WEA working with them. That has gone. In my view socially committed adult education is now much more focussed on the work of the public education authorities and the voluntary associations, all of whom are much more active in the field than the universities. If you want to find socially committed adult education in Britain do not go to the Universities. Of course there is still some to be found at British universities, but, on the whole, if you want real commitment, go to a few of the local education authorities. Or go to national organisations like the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, or the Scottish Institute of Adult Education, which bring together field workers and a whole range of other adult education interests: corporate institutions with a very wide ranging membership. Commitment lives mainly outside the universities.

A lot of it has come from the university tradition in Britain, but in a sense it has now exceeded that tradition and we are much more like Scandinavian countries where most socially committed adult education has, for a very long time, been outside the universities. So if we are seeking to re-kindle commitment I think we have to recognise that commitment is actually out there beyond the university system and we have somehow to enable the university system to help other people's commitment: to help outside organisations and institutions in the work that they will take the lead in.

This leads me to my second point. If my assumption is correct, in their direct provision of adult and continuing education, universities are inevitably going to move towards a very heavy emphasis on professional retraining, up-dating courses and the like. It is unlikely that our university system will actually commit itself in anything like the same measure as it has done in the past to social commitment in the sense that we are defining it at this conference. If we wish to maintain or extend a university contribution there must be much greater emphasis on the right kind of research, both participatory and action-oriented, with very close interaction between university people and the field workers who operate from bases in other institutions. There are two

adult education within an area should be ecological' (16) derives from the day to day interaction of research staff and local residents. We suggested that this principle is likely to be generally applicable in other similar areas. All of this has immense implications for inter-professional and inter-agency co-operation, for training and for maintaining an adult education component in community work generally.

Particularly in regard to training, if you can find committed adult educators within the university system, this may have enormous importance, as Tom Lovett pointed out earlier. He himself has been able to create an independent institution in Northern Ireland from a base in the University from which he is seconded to do that job.

Most of our small successes consisted of small scale community action informed by adult education practice and processes. These were very time consuming. Besides the activities mentioned above there was an adult literacy scheme, discussion groups for women, a community magazine (very important for new contacts and ideas); and the Project brought the different service agencies together in lunch-time forums. All of these activities tried to help answer particular social problems with specific non-formal educational inputs.

What did we leave behind? A building which could be used for community purposes (a co-operative work base); two professional workers appointed by the local government authority. Not much, but perhaps not entirely useless in very local terms.

The association of adult education and community work and the processes of participatory research lead inevitably to an adult education from which participants seek change both in themselves and in their social context. As Hall expresses it 'it is a research process which allows for popular involvement and increased capacities of analysis; it may also make new political actions possible. This may also present difficult political choices for the adult educator. No single project can presume to prescribe what the choice should be. We can only say this in the New Communities Project we saw our chief role as the promotion of self-confidence and the potential of local people. We sought to increase their ability to change themselves and their ability to press for wider social/political change. For this to happen it is important for any adult educator to accept the Project's second working principle - the need 'to establish a belief in the abilities, a respect for the values and a reinforcement of the potential of people, whatever their class or background might be'. (16) The besetting sin of paternalism affects us all if we are not very careful.

Finally a Freirean point: Small scale participatory research requires continuous dialogue with potential 'clients'. The process of action, reflection and action (modified) leads inevitably to as much concern for relevance as for increased participation. The research worker has to develop close empathy with the aspirations of those he seeks to involve in the fulfilment of his aspirations.

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16. Fordham, Poulton and Randle, op. cit. pp 188-189.

17. Hall and Kidd, op. cit.

essentials in this process: commitment has to inform our research and our research, because it has to survive, has to be seen as part of the university's total research contribution. Research based non-formal education is what I think we can continue to provide in universities, not non-formal education per se. Even in the 1970s I doubt if we would have managed to put two people in that area doing the things they did if it wasn't a 'research' programme. If it was just doing the things they did and they happened to write a book about it afterwards - that would not have been enough. There has to be a balance between social commitment out there and responsibility within and towards the university as an institution. As Tom Lovett said earlier, universities do have major drawbacks. Nevertheless, they do have major advantages as well. They can provide the kind of research expertise which is necessary.

Finally, I believe that we actually have to be much more political than we have been in the past. That may be an unusual thing for a British university adult educator to say, or it has been an unusual thing. We have prided ourselves on our non-political pragmatism. Now, however, in the face of a sustained political assault on adult education we have a responsibility to be much more political. I do not mean in a Party sense, but campaigning in all the political media, in all the ways at our disposal for a socially relevant adult education. Not just what universities do but what all adult education agencies do. We have to identify, or help to identify what the social issues are to which adult educators can address themselves and help other people to address

Conclusion

What I have tried to suggest in this paper is that participatory and action research allied to field practice, especially of a non-formal kind is one way of increasing the social commitment of universities in adult education. And that commitment must not only be seen as appropriate (e.g. a research activity, not social welfare) but as of benefit to the universities themselves. In our present political climate creating the right climate inside the universities can sometimes seem an insuperable task (if it doesn't make money why tolerate it?), but the values brought by existing traditions in adult education do help to underpin a position where future development may be possible.

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SOCIAL COMMITMENT IN SCANDINAVIAN ADULT EDUCATION

Summary

The aim of this paper is to present and discuss aspects of social commitment in Norwegian and Swedish adult education.

It starts with a short historical overview of different ways of looking at adult education in North America and Scandinavia. Then the contemporary situation is assessed in the relation of the Welfare State and different measures in the two countries to facilitate adult education. Separate results from both countries will elucidate some effects of what happens when the state interferes. Thereafter a principal discussion will highlight the necessity to earmark resources to the field of adult education if the objective is that adult education should have a distributative instead of a service political objective.

Background

Adult education in Europe and in Scandinavia in particular has a long tradition of being an important tool for different people's movements. To fight the long tradition of a class society with no religions freedom has always been a challange to different religious and political movements. It was necessary to organize themselves against the established society which had values which the movements wished to change. In Scandinavia there is a long tradition to organize adult education collectively and not on an individual basis. Consequently the different trade unions and the cooperative movement which had come from England used adult education as an important tool to educate their members. The contrast to the North American society is striking. The whole society was founded as a protest to the old class societies in

Europe, equality very soon became an important expression in all youth education. Adult education only had to provide individual service to all adults. To use adult education to fight social injustices was no point because there existed only marginal ones. However the situation changes and it is perhaps time to discuss a new role for adult education also in the North American society.

Adult Education for Social Change

Thomas and Harries-Jenkins (1975) have proposed a theoretical framework to show the possible interpretations of the relationship between adult education and social change. The framework is based on two important and interrelated distinctions - the interpretation of social interests (conflict versus consensus models) and the distinction between value-oriented and norm-oriented perceptions. Conflict theorists approach the question of social change from the interests of various individuals or groups within the society. These theorists regard social inequality as a result from the struggle between these different groups or individuals. A central objective of adult education must be the production of changes in a society's basic outlook and goals.

Consensus theorists in contrast approach the problem of social interests from the viewpoint of society as a whole. To these theorists adult education is not a facility for promoting the social policies of a particular group, but is a means of transmitting the inherited knowledge and culture of the whole society. Value-judgements are more a cognitive question than a social or political. Paulston (1977) has used a similar way to systematize different theoretical ways when studying social change from an educational point of view: the equilibrium and the conflict paradigm. The equilibrium paradigm is generally viewed as encompassing a number of different theories, or causal models, that focus on particular questions, methods and phenomena while sharing certain core assumptions about social reality, values and research methods. Theories that cluster more or less within the conflict paradigm emphasize the inherent instability of social systems and the conflicts over values, resources and power that follow as a natural consequence.

The history of adult education in Scandinavia is probably much more

at home within the conflict paradigm while North American adult education more has its roots in the equilibrium paradigm. You don't have to fight a society where there does not exist any social classes or inequalities. The key question is of course if the situation is the same within the present American society.

This theoretical way of looking at social change has of course been critisized from different ways. But more important is the identification of this model with the proposition that social systems are dynamic, encourages the belief that adult education can be an important vehicle of change.

But there is also another important perspective to consider when discussing the role of adult education in the society. You have to distinguish between value-oriented and norm-oriented perceptions or attitudes. The former is concerned with changes in the generalized ends or values which a social order is designed to achieve. The latter retains society's goals, while seeking to change the rules that govern the pursuit of basic objectives and the detailed operation of basic forms of social order.

Thomas and Harries-Jenkins suggest that the role of adult education can best be seen as part of a continuum. At one extreme we are dealing with the view that any system of adult education must, if it is to be effective, challenge established economic, political and social assumptions. At the other the argument is that adult education should only be concerned with traditionally accepted normative standrads. Between these two positions there are a spectrum of different roles for adult education to participate in the process of social changes.

On the Scandinavian scene the non-formal adult education early became a strong force for social change. It can be characterized as reform-oriented i.e. change-oriented, but concerned with modifying selected aspects of the present. After the second world war the state has become more active in using adult education to facilitate social change. Adult education in Norway and Sweden are presented independently and from slightly different views. The presentations are concerned with what happens when the state status to interfere. The conclussions are

drawn from both "cases". First however the concept of Social Commit-

ment should be sorted out from the perspective of social change.

The Concept of Social Commitment

The concept of social commitment is indeed very vague and we shall therefore endeavor to give it a reasonably precise meaning relevant to our context. One way of defining it is negative by outlining that social commitment is not, for example egoism. That would leave us with the concept of altruism, which intuitively should be close to social commitment. However, social commitment is more than a cluster of attitudes - it contains active efforts to influence positively on other people's situation. This means that it must be oriented toward changes in individuals, groups, or structures, i.e. it has a psychological, a social-psychological, and a sociological aspect of change. Consequently, social commitment can be classified into different types. Another alternative would be to divide adult education into subcategories and thereafter try to trace different types of commitment within each subcategory. However, we shall here concentrate on social commitment itself and emphasize two aspects of it: whether its orientation is mainly individual or collective and whether its main ideology is opposed to the social order or not. Opposition to the social order is defined as deliberate efforts to change major structures of socitey. Non-opposition embraces both deliberate efforts at preserving the social order and unconsciousness about the social order i.e. neutrality. The classification scheme is depicted in figure 1.

Figure 1 Classification of adult education by orientation and ideology.

		IDEOLOGY	
		Not opposing the social order	Opposing the social order
ORIENTATION	Individaul	1	3
	Collective	2	4

Figure 1 thus leaves us with a fourfold description of social commit-

ment. Type 1 may be illustrated by adult education organized as charity work, which is predominantly individually oriented and not questioning the social order. An example of type 2 is the identification of and efforts directed toward selected disadvantaged groups. The construction of special financial and practical arrangements for such groups is not in conflict with the established society. Social commitment of type 3 may be illustrated by different traditions of psychological reductionism, i.e. lines of thought in which structural phenomena are being reduced to psychological categories. Adult education arranged by movements aiming at changing society through altering the souls of individuals provides one example. Another example is efforts at changing the consumption-pattern of people in the rich part of the world in order to bring about social change in the poor countries. In both cases, the power structure of societies is ignored. Social commitment of type 4 is collectively oriented and intended at changing the social order. The emphasis is not on strengthening or altering the individual to achieve changes but on strengthening collective units. Most examples of type 4 may be found in countries whith a high level of social conflict like many economically underdeveloped nations. However, it is not difficult to find examples also in the Western cultures: unions fighting for improved working conditions and industrial democracy, political parties working for major social changes, feminist organizations trying to change the sex-bases division of labor, protest movements, etc. Different kinds of adult education are often essential to such efforts, not least in order to educate memebers and representatives politically. However, perhaps the most illustrative example on social commitment of type 4 in adult education is "community education" which may be regarded as an educational principle or philosophy geared at inducing social change through collective action inn the communities (Compton & McClusky, 1980; Fletcher, 1980; Healy, 1981).

The typology of social commitment will later be applied to adult education in Norway but should provide a means of classification applicable to any country.

THE CASE OF NORWAY

Historical Survey

The early history of adult education in Norway resembles it to a considerable extent one of social movements. Enlightenment of the populace was the central objective, and was systematically channelled into organized forms at the beginning of the 19th century. Around 1800 the idea of so-called sunday-schools was imported from England and Denmark (Øst.grp.kr. 3, 1975:8). They were created for craftsmen, apprentices, shop assistants, and workers - and the task was to provide these groups with further vocational education (Dyrvik et al, 1976:100,101; Bjerknes, 1982). In addition enlightenment efforts based upon religious ideas and efforts directed toward building peasant-power were made. Just before the middle of the century the existing local workers' unions made similar efforts within their ranks involving the use of systematic adult education. In 1850 they started sunday-schools for workers aimed at reducing illiteracy and transmitting political ideas (Ousland, 1974:430; Boiestad, 1979).

The next 95 years (1851-1946) contained a rather slow process of organizing adult education, a process which was not rapidly speeded up until after the Second World War. This period is the one in which social commitment seems to have been at its strongest. Many different forces worked for a raise in the cultural level of the populace, employing various ideologies and methods. Liberal parts of the bourgeoisie were preoccupied with the poor living conditions and the low intellectual level in the proletariat and to a great extent wanted to impose on it their own culture. The most influential orientation was the philantropical one. Its proponents founded "Workers' Societies" (arbeidersamfunn) in the largest cities - fora that were later taken over by the labor movement. Much of the philantropists' work was based on pure altruism but some of it also had clear ideological goals. Politically sensitive parts of the bourgeoisie pointed to the February-revolution in France and foresaw potential threats from an unsocialized proletariat ready to lend itself to violent riots. The first labor movement became quite strong around 1850 but was thereafter severely suppressed by the government. The leaders were put in prison and the movement fell apart (Bjørklund, 1970; Ousland, 1974; Lorentz, 1981). At the end of the 19th century a new labor movement emerged

which soon became strongly organized. To begin with, efforts were directed toward political agitation. However, the adult education in the labor movement developed in broadness, and in 1909 the "Socialist Evening-School" was started by the "Workers' Party". Twelve years later a similar day-school was founded. The subsequent 1920's were, however, a down-period for this sort of adult education due to the fierce fights between fractions of the "Workers' Party" leading to cleavages and the emergence of new socialist parties. Then in 1931, the "Workers' Educational Association" was established (cf. Ousland, 1975), almost twenty years after the foundation of a parallell organization in Europe.

In the 1930's the study-circle was spread as a method of organizing adult education, and the authorities began to allocate money to this activity. Norwegian adult education had then developed the contours of a pattern which still persists - the activity mainly consisting of study-circles supported financially by the government.

Although the first government subsidies to study-circles were given in 1915, the authorities did not intervene actively into the sector until after the Second World War. In 1948 education by correspondence became regulated by an act especially tailored for this part of adult education. The system of subsidies to study-circles arranged by the voluntary organizations was revised and extended from covering only book expenses to cover the teachers' salaries as well.

The 1960's and 1970's were decades of intense reform preparation. Several public committees produced white-papers aimed at the introduction of major reforms. One of the committees was delegated the task of proposing an Adult Education Act (for a survey, see Lyche, 1982). This work was characterized by conflict as to the goals of the act and other central issues (Hansen, 1982). The initial proposal put the main weight on the principle of equality, the creation of individual control with the life-situation, and development of abilities to change the environment individually or in cooperation with others. However, this proposal did not pass but was substituted with a formulation in which the issue of social change was eliminated.

An important aspect of the development in the post-war period concerns the very character of adult education. In the earlier periods it had

been directed toward political purposes and enhancement of the populace's intellectual level. After the war, however, the main focus shifted to individual consumption (cf. Skard, 1979). The number of courses related to hobbies and leisure grew rapidly and soon constituted the dominant parts of Norwegian adult education. Most of these intend to promote self-fulfillment through individual rather than collective action. This development was probably mainly caused by the metamorphisis of many voluntary organizations in which idealism was replaced by commercialism (Nordhaug, 1984).

In 1977 the Adult Education Act was implemented, marking a turning point in the history of Norwegian adult education. It was now incorporated in the Welfare State. Public responsibility for the sector had been stated by law and, moreover, the authorities were given the main responsibility for the sector.

Contemporary Adult Education

We shall now discuss the role of contemporary adult education with respect to social commitment. Firstly, the sector's internal organization is briefly delineated. Secondly, concrete demonstrations of social commitment are presented. Finally, the level of social commitment is assessed.

A Brief Sketch of the Sector

The major part of the publicly subsidized adult education in Norway is provided by voluntary study-organizations. During the academic year 1982-83 they had 84.5 percent of the total number of participants. In comparison, public schools and other public providers had 11.0 percent, private schools and institutions had 1.7 percent and other organizations had 2.7 percent of the participants (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 1984). The division of labor within the sector can be described in the following way: the government and regional authorities (county- and commune-councils) finance large parts of the activity but arrange just about one tenth of it, as the above figures illustrate. As a consequence, the policy and behavior of the organizations are crucial to the form and the content of the courses on offer. This system contains a paradox, because whereas the main goals of the Adult Education Act concern individuals (equality of access, self-fulfillment, a more mea-

ningful level, the financial resources are distributed to organizations which are governed by their own unique goals. Thus, as the voluntary study-organizations are allowed the freedom to allocate the received subsidies within generous limits, the system thereby gives room for considerable distortion of the objectives of the Act.

Demonstration of Social Commitment

In the public adult education policy the cause of so-called disadvantaged groups is strongly expressed in various ways. The Adult Education Act pays particular attention to these groups in its paragraph 24 and lists low educated people, disabled persons, immigrants, and people with heavy family obligations. The major part of the resources allocated to disadvantaged groups have been directed to the three former categories and mostly to persons with short education (i.e. 7-9 years of compulsory schooling). It has been argued that resources meant for the lowest educated will automatically promote increased equality. However, a recent study reported large inequalities within this group and that those individuals living in environments which are rich on intellectual and financial resources are significantly more inclined to participate than others (Sundgren, 1984). Another important characteristic of secondary education for adults which to a greater degree reflects social commitment is the fact that half the government subsidies to it are allocated to courses for disabled (St.prp.nr 1, 1983). These large subsidies are because extensive resources are required for this particular target group. Classes are usually very small - not rarely with only one student - and the activity is located at a rather diffuse borderline between education and therapy.

Mentally and physically disabled are favoured also through general subsidies for disadvantaged groups. The distribution of these have been studied. Kallerud (1980) noted a substantial increase in subsidies the first three years after the implementation of the Act but emphasized that they were quite small compared with the total public transfers to adult education. In a later study it was registered that the government subsidies meant for disadvantaged groups form 1979 to 1981 had increased their proportion of the total government transfers to adult education form 7.6 to 11.3 per cent.

During the 1970's immigration increased substantially and the need

arose for granting immigrants courses in Norwegin including an introduction to Norwegian society and culture. Each immigrant is entitled to a 240-hour free course which is financed by the government. Besides there is a range of activities which are arranged or supported by the communes and various voluntary organizations (cf. Kallerud, 1980). The government's budget also contains a modest amount of subsidies to adult education for gypsies (St.prp. nr 1, 1981).

Very few activities have been provided for persons with heavy family obligations. The most obvious subcategory within this group is single parents with children under the age of 20. About 90 per cent of them are women and many are in a difficult situation when economy, housing, and job is considered. Gullichsen (1981) pursued a study of this group, focusing on the degree of cooperation between social and educational institutions in their work for single parents with a problematic life-situation. The perspective of the study was horizontal, i.e. directed toward the opportunities of integrating adult education with social policy in order to achieve greater results for the target groups. There has surely been an exaggerated belief in the equalizing potential of adult educaton per se and Gullichsen's work is the first step toward viewing adult educaion policy in closer relation to other relevant fields. (Other important Norwegian studies of social commitment have been carried out on the topics of rehabilitation of disabled workers (Lund, 1981) and education for prisoners (Skaalvik & Stenby, 1981).

In addition to help to disadvantaged groups or individuals, social commitment in adult education also has a political aspect in that it is attached to preservation or change of the established society. In Norway the most important kinds of politically oriented adult education are arranged by unions, political parties, feminist organizations, and more ad hoc.oriented organizations or actions. Very roughly estimated it constitutes 10-15 per cent of the total publicly subsidized adult education. We shall here limit the discussion to a type of political education which is by and large geared toward social change - courses connected with the work for industrial democracy. Several important reforms have been accomplished in this field during the 1970's, although the present pattern of regulations between employees and employers emerged in 1935 when the "Basic Agreement" (Hovedavtalen) between the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions (LO) and the

Norwegian employers' Confederation (NAF) was established. In addition to containing rules for resolution of conflicts, the agreement gives the employees certain rights of influence on important decisions in the firm. The agreement has continuously been followed up by shorter educational programs aimed at training local union-representatives in interpreting and utilizing it. In 1978 LO and NAF established a fund for education and training which has been used to finance courses for their representatives. Most of the activity has been the direct effect of two laws. The first, which was implemented in 1973, regulates companies with shared liabilities and contains rules for employees' codetermination as to the running of the companies. They are allowed to elect representatives from among themselves to the boards of directors. However, this kind of institutional representation does not in itself ensure real influence on the policy of the company. From the labor union point of view it had to be followed up by training in economics, business administration, organization theory, accounting, and corporate strategy. Courses on these subjects have now been arranged for more than ten years but the size of the activity has not even approached the felt needs of the elected board-representatives (Engelstad & Qvale, 1977). The second law, which is designed to regulate protection of employees' physical and mental health against the working environment, came into force in 1977 and initiated large-scale educational efforts for union-and employer-representatives (Skard, 1979:141). Besides training in connection with these two laws, labor unions provide a wide range of courses for their members, many of which are of a purely political or ideological character.

Conclusion

Norwegian adult education policy is based upon general Welfare State ideals and more specifically upon the liberal ideology of equality of opportunity. However, it has been documented that inequalities have increased due to the real distribution of recruitment (for a survey of the research, see Nordhaug, 1983). As a consequence of this, efforts aimed at compensating for the socially asymmetrical pattern of participation have been enhanced over the last years. The most important effort is directed toward so called disadvantaged groups among which low educated persons, immigrants, and disabled have been the most strongly favoured. This compensatory strategy reflects a true commitment to humanitarian ideals, although there are critics who contend

that it should have been more powerful by concentrating a major proportion of public resources on underprivileged people. However, an important counter-argument to this view is the fact that public institutions and voluntary organizations need time and practise to obtain experience about activities designed for disadvantaged groups before any great expansion in resource allocations may be properly initiated. Up to now we can note that there has been a steady increase in such allocations and that this development is likely to continue in the future. However one will probably reach a limit, at some point, for the size of selective subsidies to underprivileged groups as the general subsidies cover a welfare need for the majority of the population.

THE CASE OF SWEDEN

Historical survey

Adult education in Sweden has a long tradition. The earliest "study circles" were started in 1840 after influence from Great Britain but had expired in the end of the 1850:ies. The first folk-high schools were founded in 1868 as a result of the necessity to educate the rural people who had to face a new political situation i.e. that all communities had become politically independent. But it was not until different people's movements started to use popular education on a broad scale in the latter part of the 19th century to educate their members, that it became more widely spread all over the country. The predominate movements different religious groups, who opposed the state church for its monopoly position in the society, the labour movement which was fighting for better job conditions etc and the temperance movement which fought for a sober society in which all citizens were equals. The shortage of educated leaders made it necessary to use one member in the group as a tutor. In the beginning of the 20th century this solution had become generally accepted. You can say it was more the force of circumstances that created the study circle as an educational method than any ideals. In reality this was the only way to respond to the movements' need to educate such a great number of individuals. It is because of this use of adult education that the members and associates of these movements have become such a powerful force during this century in the Swedish society (see e.g. Arivdson, 1984 and Höghielm, 1984).

The term popular education as used here refers to non-career/creden-

tial adult education. Labour market training is of far more recent vintage, dating from the early 1940s. The most recent form is municipal adult education (komvux), which has only existed for ten years or so. One distinctive feature of traditional Swedish popular education is that it should be regarded primarily as a product of cultural activity - a topic which has been previously dealt with in various connections (e.g. Sandler, 1937). The more recent form of adult education can be regarded as the result of efforts by the State to use certain types of adult education to support a certain policy. It was not until the late fifties and early sixties, though, that the Government began taking a serious interest in adult education as a possible means of backing up official policy on particular social issues.

The proposals put forward by the 1960 Upper Secondary Schools Commission on the subject of adult education resulted in a Government Bill (Prop 1967:85). establishing municipal adult education (komvux) as a form of adult education in its own right, superseding the various forms of credential adult education which had existed until then. The overriding aim was to stimulate the ongoing development of the Swedish economy. Komvux was regarded as a form of retraining and subsequent education, though there was also felt to be scope for activities catering for individual adult preferences regarding wider educational opportunities within a more general educational framework based on youth education syllabi. It was emphasised that the methods of adult education would have to be shaped according to the educational aptitides of the adult students themselves. Another explicit precondition was that of "fruitful co-operation" between representatives of different forms of adult education. It is fair to say that the reform Bill was influenced by a determination to make the expansion of adult education as economical as possible. No permanent teaching appointments were proposed, and syllabi were to be more concentrated than those of the then existing State-subsidised evening schools. Finally, no overriding objectives were laid down for adult education.

The reform was critically received, above all by the large trade unions, espacially those affiliated to LO (the Swedish Trade Union Confederation). The original reform was felt to have made too little provision for equality aspects. This prompted a series of reforms of adult education during the 1970s. The equality principle was endorsed, in responses to LO's criticism, in the Government Bill of 1970 (Prop

1970:351. Adult education now acquired a more ideological raison d'etre, being regarded as an important means of transforming existing society. Reference was also made to the crucial influence of adult education on the social and economic living standards of the individual, his job satisfaction and his prospects of exerting influence at work.

The trade union movement's reaction to the 1967 reform of adult education and the integration of the findings of the Low Incomes Commission (cf. Johannesson, 1971) changed the concept of education. The unions conducted surveys of their own, LO presenting its LOVUX I-IV reports while TCO compiled similar reports. These observed that youth education was not leading to social equalisation. Instead it came naturally to press demands relating more specifically to the interests of a particular group. The Social Democratic Party was forced to allot more money to these groups, as is most clearly reflected by the ensuing Government Bills, down to the 1975 Government Bill concerning wider adult education opportunities and study assistance for adult (1975:23).

Thus it was not the adult education mandators who demanded that adult education be used as a means of achieving social change. Instead the new role of adult education as a policy instrument came to be ascribed to activities on the part of the trade unions.

The period ending in 1975 concluded with a voluminous Government Bill (1975:23) concerning wider adult education opportunities and study assistance for adults. This can also be said to mark the conclusion of the more wide-ranging reforms of the 1970s. The Government Bills introduced in the second half of the decade were mainly concerned with consolidating previous achievements and then with the beginnings of a general retrenchment, starting with a reduction of the growth rate.

Government Bill Prop. 1975:23 states that the future reform of adult education must be viewed as a staging post on the way to recurrent education. Substantial improvements are proposed in student benefits for adults, as well as special measures to activate the underreducated. The Minister introducing the Bill also proposed special study assistance fo adults engaged in short-cycle studies. Two forms of support were to be introduced, known respectively as hourly and daily

study assistance. During an initial, build-up phase, these were to be reserved for students attending study circles and subject courses at folk high schools. Finally the Bill called for the establishment of a special adult education committee in each county.

In Govt. Bill 1975:45 concerning guidelines for labour market training, it is observed that this training has objectives which are connected with stabilisation policy, distributive policy and growth policy. Thus labour market training is required to contribute towards the achievement of greater equality between various groups in society by supporting those who are at the greatest disadvantage in the employment sector. Furthermore, it is required to promote economic growth by meeting demand for skilled labour. The Minister introducing the Bill stressed that the distributive function of labour market policy had been placed in the foreground. The system of labour market training grants was co-ordinated, as described earlier, in the Government Bill (1975:23) summarised above, and at the same time greater scope was allowed for exemptions form the minimum age limit of 20 years for graining grants when the employment situation so required.

The situation in Sweden today is that the allocation policy is implemented through two different but somewhat related systems. One part of the adult education is completely in the power of the public authorities. The other part, the popular adult educator, which could be seen as a competing culture is connected with the official system through the subsidy system.

We shall now turn to consider various research findings which, it is hoped, will shed light on the extent to which adult education has come to embody the aims of distributive policy envisaged for it by the Government and Parliament. No specific account will be given concerning labour market policy, however, and the present review does not purport to be exhaustive, being confined to the principal efforts made to elucidate this point between 1970 and 1980.

Studies of adult education reforms, 1967-1975

Broström and Ekeroth (1977) have studied the effects of public spending on measures of distributive policy between 1967 and 1975. During this period, however, the original service policy objective still held

good. The difference between service and distributive policies can most conveniently be expressed by saying that the former is intended to meet demand from the labour market and the individual's own needs while the latter is intended to minimize social descrepancies between different groups in society. The dilemma of adult education in Sweden is that both these aims are persued simultaneously.

Examining the various Government Bills from this period, one finds that adult education is intended to produce a redistribution in society of the following resources:

a) economic
b) political
c) social and
d) cultural

The definitions of these various terms can be briefly described as follows.

a) Social groups with low incomes must be more extensively recruited for adult education. The anticipated effect of this would be an equalisation of incomes, always assuming that education affects the individual person's income.

b) Broström and Ekeroth employ the Low Incomes Commission's definition of political resources. Sten Johansson (1971) incorporates the following factors in this definition of political resources: electoral participation, participation in the framing of policy alternatives, and the ability of the individual to protect himself against administrative decisions and other decisions harmful to his interests. Johansson then goes on to elaborate these alternatives.

c) Social resources are above all concerned with the qualitative aspects of a person's level of living. Access to a well-developed social network is presumed to be vital to the individual. Thus one of the important aims of adult education is to provide disadvantaged outsiders with an opportunity for establishing social contacts and building up a viable social network through their participation in adult education.

d) One assumption present in the goals of adult education as well as

in those of cultural policy is that participation in "cultural activities" provides the individual with an important way of achieving a fuller life. Those groups in society who are unable to avail themselves of the resources which the community devotes to cultural activities miss an important opportunity of self-realisation. Broström and Ekeroth point out, however, that it is virtually impossible to define the meaning of "culture" and "cultural activity" in this connection.

One perpetually relevant question is when the individual is to be considered underprivileged. What is the "profile" of such a person? Here as in all evaluative contexts, one is ultimately thrown back on one's survey instruments. Broström and Ekeroth used a questionnaire which included a number of sub-items dealing with various resources. In order for the respondent to be classed as underprivileged, the answers had to come below a certain limit. True, the limit itself had been pitched low, but the choice of threshold must in the absolute sense be termed arbitrary. The same applied to the threshold value for the privileged. If we accept this artificial "standardisation", however, we must emphasise that it is supremely realtive and therefore chronologically sensitive. Thus it will only be valid at a certain point in history. The study which Broström and Ekeroth carried out involved comparing 1968 and 1974 in terms of distributive effects.

The findings showed the distributive effects of recruitment to have been negligible. The underprivileged were consistently underrepresented among adult education participants. (In the survey, this participation was equated with participation in study circles, folk high school and municipal adult education.) The principal results of Broström's and Ekeroth's work can be summed up in the following points:

Where all resource questions were concerned, persons with experience of adult education were more privileged than those lacking such experience.

There were slight tendencies for the representation of the underprivileged to increase between 1968 och 1974.

Most of the students first recruited in 1968 belonged to the privileged group.

Concerning the reasons for the non-attainment of the distributive

objective. Broström and Ekeroth among others maintain that supply has been excessively governed by demand. They also take the view that a fundamental conflict has existed between the objectives of service policy and those of distributive policy. The steadily growing importance of the distributive objective has not been matched by consistent measures of distributive policy. The system of grants is another expression of this conflict. As Broström and Ekeroth see it, the general design of this system is conducive to service-oriented recruitment.

The period following 1975

One important question is whether there has been any change since Broström and Ekeroth carried out their survey. As stated earlier, Government Bill 1975:23 included a number of changes affecting student finance, the aim being for larger numbers of underprivileged persons to be recruited for adult education. Lundquist has attempted to study the effects of student benefits for adults after 1975. The findings are presented in an initial report from a research project at the Department of Education, University of Göteborg (Lundquist, 1984).

Special adult study assistance, the result of Government Bill 1975:23, is intended to provide larger groups with more or less complete compensation for loss of earnings while they are studying. Priority is to be given to those who are most in need of education and support. In the assessment of this question, consideration is to be paid to previous education, years of gainful employment (or its counterpart), dependants and difficulties in studying during leisure hours (Govt. Bill 1975:23, p 189). Among other things, Lundquist finds that the relative availability of hourly and daily study assistance declined between 1977/78 and 1981/82. The term relative availability as used here applies to the ratio between available funding and funding applied for and is to be seen as a reflection of the willingness of the community to devote resources to these forms of study assistance for the undereducated.

Where hourly study assistance is concerned, the relative utilisation of the available assistance, which provides an indication of the extent to which public social welfare agencies in the education sector have succeeded in utilising the funds available, rose steadily from 32

per cent in 1977/78 to 80 per cent in 1981/82. What is more, competition for special adult study assistance increased in total figures after 1978/79, remaining fairly constant during the years which followed. Just under half of all new applications were granted during this period. Assistance was most readily obtainable - true to the underlying intentions of Government Bill Prop. 1975:23 - for studies at compulsory school level. The fiercest competition concerned more long-term studies at upper secondary school level.

Lundquist points out that hourly and daily study assistance can be applied for individually or collectively. Collective applications predominate. Since hourly and daily study assistance are mainly intended for the underreducated, this category should be overrepresented among the recipients of assistance. In 1980/81, persons with not more than eight years' elementary schooling accounted for 50 per cent of all recipients of hourly study assistance (the Central Study Assistance Committe - CSN - unpublished material). Lundquist takes this to indicate that hourly study assistance has not appreciably increased the recruitment of undereducated persons.

As a means of empirically studying recruitment aspects in relation to the reforms, the project team at the Stockholm Institute of Education has drawn on the annual ULF studies conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics (SCB) ever since 1974. ULF, which in Swedish is short for "Survey of the living conditions of the Swedish people", comprises interviews of about 8-10,000 persons aged 16-74. The following figures refer to persons aged 18-74. We shall now turn to consider some of the salient points of the analyses carried out as part of the project.

Table 1 Educational participation - formal educational level (two extreme groups: low, i.e. less than 9 years pre-secondary education, and high, i.e. 2 years post-secondary education). Answers in percentages of each group. Source: Arvidson et al., 1983.

		1974	1976	1978	1980/81
Study circle,	low	9.5	11.6	12.1	11.7
	high	15.5	22.5	21.5	25.3
All forms,	low	15.6	18.6	21.2	20.2

high	47.5	52.5	48.3

Undereducated persons (i.e. those with less than 9 years' pre-secondary education) participate consistently less than the well-educated (those with more than two years post-secondary education), both in study circles and in adult education generally. The rate of change (growth) is more favourable among those who are already well-educated. Putting it drastically, the gap between undereducated and well-educated widens from 1974 onwards, which is contrary to the declared aims. If the material is divided up according to socio-economic background, which of course is closely correlated with formal educational level, the same pattern emerges from a comparision of "manual workers" and "salaried employees".

We have to remember, however, that the total number of undereducated persons is diminishing all the time, mainly because this group is not being "replenished" to any great extent, but also because undereducated persons are improving their formal education through various kinds of adult education and leaving the undereducated category.

The project team has also made use of the longitudinal database (i.e. a permanent follow-up of the same persons, with questions at intervals of a certain number of years) which the Department of Social Research in the University of Stockholm has been building up ever since 1968 (see Borgström and Olofsson, 1983). The object of this database is to study the distribution of wellbeing in Sweden and the changes occurring over time. "Wellbeing" is here interpreted in the broad sense and, in addition to incomes and other economic circumstances, is also taken, for example, to include employment, diet, health, education, political resources, leisure and recreation.

On three separate occasions (in 1968, 1974 and 1981), roughly one in every thousand Swedes of adult age has been interviewed concerning the various components of wellbeing. The survey as a whole includes roughly 6,000 persons in each round. Longitudinal data, with no dropout in any of the rounds, are available for some 3,300 individuals who were between 18 and 62 years old in 1968 (i.e. between 31 and 75 years old in 1981). Borgström and Olofsson concentrated their study on a small number of interview questions, viz. certain background variables such as education, sex, social identity and the questions concerning poli-

tical and cultural resources.

By far the largest proportion of leisure-time courses take the form of study circles. As a yardstick of participation in study circle activities, the authors have used a question concerning the extent to which people usually attend study circles or courses as a leisure activity. Participation in study circle activities can of course vary from year to year, and in order to keep the scope and chronological sequence under surveillance, the subjects have been divided into different groups according to whether they attended study circles in 1968, 1971 and 1981. A study was then made of the development of social and political resources in the various groups. Borgström and Olofsson have used the same kind of definition as Broström and Ekeroth.

The problems of definition arising were also similar to those confronting Broström and Ekeroth, but a somewhat different procedure was adopted. An index relating to political participation was used as an indicator of political resources. An individual was considered to be a "political outsider" if he (or she) satisfied all the following criteria:

> Not belonging to a plitical party or trade union organisation.
> Never having taken part in a public demonstration.
> Never having contacted a person in a position of responsibility with a view to influencing the outcome of a public issue.
> Never having addressed a meeting of an association or organisation.
> Never having written a reader's letter or an article for inclusion in a newspaper/magazine.

In 1974, about 50 per cent of the survey populaton were classified as "political outsiders".

Cultural resources were indicated by means of an index summarising the extent of theatre-going, book-reading and music-making as leisure activities. A person is here defined as a "cultural outsider" if he/she never usually takes part in any of the three activities mentioned or sometimes takes part in only one of them. About 40 per cent of the survey groups in 1974 were classified as "cultural outsiders".
Borgström and Olofsson can in a way be said to have adopted a stricter

line by refusing to accept minor deviations which could be accommodated within Broström's and Ekeroth's more relative definition.

In an attempt to isolate positive changes between 1968 and 1974, the authors only report positive changes for those individuals who were "outsiders", i.e. had limited social and political resources, in 1968. The value 100 means that all individuals are complete "outsiders" in terms of social and political resources. A decline in this value implies a growth of the resources at the disposal of the individuals seen as a group. Table 2 shows the results for the groups which differed as regards participation in 1974 but not in 1968 (group I = not taking part in study circles in 1968, 1974 and 1981, and group IV = not taking part in 1968 but taking part in 1974 and 1981). Table 2 shows that the heaviest resource growth occurred among those who began attending study circles.

Table 2 Percentages of outsiders in terms of political and social resources in 1974, of all (1305) outsiders in 1968.

Group	I (No. Pol.	No.not Cult.	IV (No. Pol.	Yes, Yes) Cult.
1968	100	100	100	100
1974	41	77	37	58
N	1 071	931	190	181

Studying the resource variables for all individuals with only compulsory elementary school behind them in 1968 (57% of the total), Broström and Olofsson found, not altogether surprisingly, that the proportion of "outsiders" had steadily increased where political and cultural resources were concerned. This finding agrees with the research pointing to the close connection between formal education and strength of resources were concerned. This finding agrees with the research pointing to the close connection between formal education and strength of resources. The authors also find that differences of resource development between groups cannot be put down to the formal education received in the youth education system. There is also a connection between study circle participation and level of resources. One crucial

question is whether study circle participation arguably leads to the

augmentation of resources.

The longitudinal material studied by Marjavaara and Olofsson in the course of the project shows, however, that the resource level of the individuals studied has risen, at the same time as changes have occurred in the individual pattern of participation. This would corroborate the assumption of study circle participation accounting for a proportion of the resource increase.

By asking adult oriented questions about their educational situation and the effects of completed studies, it is possible to pose other things to mind the extent to which some of the goals of distributive policy, as for instance job change, have been achieved. In the spring of 1982, SCB supplied a section concerning adult education to all interviewed in the Labour Force Survey (AKU). The question was whether they were taking part in adult education, and if so in what form. The panel of respondents comprises about 22,000 persons who are phoned up and interviewed quarterly. In February 1982 the project team were given the opportunity, via AKU, of putting 19 questions to all those who had stated that they were attending study circles and komvux respectively in the spring of 1982. The questions were mainly concerned with the participants' ability to influence their educational situation and the effects, as perceived by themselves, of the studies completed.

In an attempt to make more these additional questions in the SCB AKU survey, to analyse the above mentioned resource variables with regard to the way in which course participants can influence the content, planning and conduct of study circles and komvux courses, one invariably finds that adult students have estimated themselves to have little influence.

Thus the results indicate small differences between participation in study circles generally and participation in komvux. If, on the other hand, the study circle material is divided up into subject areas, a somewhat different picture emerges. Participants, especially in the social/cultural science and mathematics circles, felt that they had had more say in the planning of their courses than participants in arts and language courses.

As regards the effects of participation in study circles and komvux

respectively, differences "favouring" komvux emerged if the study circle replies were not divided up according to subjects taken. Here again, it was found that people felt they had "got most out of" the social science and natural science study courses and the mathematics circles.

Concluding remarks

As society has become more and more actively involved not only in education leading to formal qualifications but also in popular adult education, demands for the coordination of information activities have grown stronger and stronger. However, while this has been happening, the voluntary education organizations have been putting considerable emphasis on developing distinctive images in relation to one another; they have also jointly adopted a partly dismissive attitude to the sector for education leading to formal qualifications. So the situation is not particularly favourable as far as increased co-operation in outreaching activities, for instance, is concerned.

The results presented here are interim findings from a concerted attempt at evaluating the effects of the adult education reforms passed during the first half of the 1970s. If future work confirms those findings, there will be every reason to ask to what extent goals of distributive policy are attainable by means of adult education.

Society, it is true, has taken a series of decisions aimed at focusing resources on underprivileged groups. One of the aims of the 1975 Adult Education Bill was to make it economically feasible for disadvantaged groups to take part in adult education. One conceivable interpretation is that special adult study assistance has not been experienced as an economically realistic alternative. The results of a yet-to-be-published survey report from CEU suggest that undereducated persons fight shy of the loan portion of study assistance.

The range of courses offered by adult education agencies may not correspond to the needs of the undereducated. Isaksson (1975) showed that gainfully employed undereducated persons wanted a form of adult education which the traditional mandators of adult education were unable to offer. They wanted most of all to attend courses directly relatable to their occupational situation. The range of courses available to pro-

bably more closely attuned to the demands of the well-educated.

It is of course arguable that a relatvely well-educated persons is also much better equipped than an undereducated person to formulate his educational needs in educational terms.

Probably, however, it is unrealistic to try to retain the service policy objective while at the same time declaring the distributive objective to be most important. If, as is still the case, these objectives are mingled, the objective supported by the "market laws" will "sin". Adult education which is available to all will inevitably bear the impress of the privileged.

Conclusions from the Scandinavian approach to social commitment in adult education

The Norwegian strategy of adult education reflects a true commitment to humanitarian ideals. There are however critics who contend that the official policy would have been more powerful if greater resources were allocated to underprivileged individuals. Perhaps the Norwegian approach needs more time and practise to accumulate experiences in activities designed for disadvantaged groups before there is any great expansion in the allocation of resources. Until now in Norway there has been a steady increase in such allocations and this development is likely to continue.

In Sweden the situation is slightly different. The society had allocated substantial resources up to the end of the 1970:ies, when a decline can be noted. But in both societies it has been natural to allocate special resources to disadvantaged groups to facilitate their participation in adult education. This objective has perhaps been more formulated in Sweden than in Norway. In Sweden all big trade unions have had quite an impact on changing the society's general objectives to use adult education as a means of minimizing inqualities. This has resulted in a switch from a service political to a distributive orientation. But in both countries the state apparatus has used rather general measures. In practice all "strong groups" in the society have benefitted. The disadvantaged groups have, in spite of specific measures only benefitted to a small extent.
When there is a competetion, as the case in Scandinavia, between the

service political and the distributative objective, the former will dominate. In both countries the disadvantaged groups must realize their own situation and demand their rights, in fact a very utopic situation.

Perhaps it is time to revive old ideas concerning adult education drawing rights, i.e. a system whereby citizens would be entitled to a certain free "quota" of education during their adult lives. The drawing rights would entitle everybody to full financial support up to a certain predefined educational level, e.g. up to and including two or even three years' upper secondary schooling. The quota could also be related to formal educational background, in such a way as to give undereducated persons priority over the well-educated. Furthermore, the system could be integrated with existing arrangements for individual study assistance in connection with participation in adult education.

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PART TWO

SELECTED AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

THE INDIVIDUAL, HUMAN NEEDS AND SOCIAL CHANGE : TOWARDS A RECONCEPTUALIZATION

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A paper presented to "Rekindling Commitment" Conference, Rutgers University, New Jersey, 10-13 June 1984

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This paper forms part of an ongoing project. We appreciate the many thoughtful comments and insights we have received from New Zealand and overseas colleagues.

Law and Sissons

The individual, human needs and social change: Towards a reconceptualization

INTRODUCTION

The invitation to "rekindle commitment" provides a welcome opportunity to work with colleagues in attempting to make sense of practice.

There is an urgent need to make sense of practice. Throughout the industrialized countries the social reform impulse in adult education is clearly in retreat. Today, much of what passes as adult education is dictated by the market place. In the social arena, the emphasis has shifted towards a "helping/coping" strategy; the distinction between "education" and "welfare" has been blurred.

These trends reflect the devastating impact of the economic crisis of the past decade. Within and between countries the gap between the rich and the rest has widened dramatically. With state imposed economic restraints has come the need for adult educators to seek alternative funding. Some have chosen to become more entrepreneurial, while others have chosen to chase state funding by tailoring programs to meet the perceived needs of special target groups, such as young unemployed and ethnic minorities. With such incorporation, government policy-makers come to define both theoretical and research perspectives and program practice.

Meanwhile, the foundations of the liberal progressive tradition in education - the tradition from which adult education derived its social commitment - are shattered. Reformed capitalism has not provided a basis for economic and social justice; access to education has not provided working class people with either "equality of opportunity" or political empowerment. If anything, there is overwhelming global evidence to suggest that democracy and capitalism are incompatible.

It is against this backdrop that we, as practitioners, have been encouraged to discover that colleagues in several countries are now asking harder, sharper question than in the past. Radical critiques developed elsewhere in the social sciences are now beginning to be applied to adult education. There is a growing recognition of the possibility of a pedagogy of mobilization; of the educational potential of working class struggle.

In this paper we seek to contribute to this dialogue. Our specific focus is on the individual, human needs and social change. The paper forms part of an ongoing project to critically examine current practice. We are seeking to understand adult education within the wider social relations of which it is a

constitutive part. Our aim is to apply theoretical insights to the development of a practical pedagogy that facilitates our own involvement and the involvement of others in meaningful social change.

The paper comprises three sections. In the first, we briefly critique the mainstream concept of needs in adult education; in the second section we offer a transformative theory of needs; finally, we relate that transformative theory to a social change model of adult education.

I THE INDIVIDUAL AND NEEDS: A CRITIQUE OF MAINSTREAM THINKING.

Central to theory, research and practice in adult education is the "concept of needs" and the associated notions of "assessing" and "meeting" such needs. Darkenwald and Merriam accurately reflect the conventional wisdom of the field:

> ...in adult education the effectiveness and often the survival of educational programs depends on a thorough understanding of the needs, problems, attitudes and preferences of its clienteles and potential clienteles. In this sense, participation research in adult education is analogous to market research in the business sector, and equally as important to organizational effectiveness (Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982:118).

In this paper we argue that the concept of needs is an "ideological concept". "Ideology" is itself a complex construct. Here we are using the term primarily in the sense that at any time the ruling ideas in a particular formation are the ideas of the dominant forces; ideas which most people internalize and adopt as their own. Thus what is "ideological" about the "concept of needs" is that it conceals the contradictions in adult education and does so in a way that is in the interest of the dominant class.

We hold that this process does not "happen"; it is not the consequence of a casual, accidental or natural process. Ideas are human ideas; they result from human decisions, choices and action. Nell Keddie helped frame the problem:

> The issue is not whether individuals have needs nor whether they should be met but how those needs are socially and politically constituted and understood, how they are articulated and whose voice is heard. Adult education responds to the collective voice of individualism, but it has in a large measure failed to identify or to identify with the

> needs of those who reject the premises on which individualism is based (Keddie, 1980:63-64).

We propose to develop this and related themes under four headings: the "problem" of context, of individualism, of consumerism, and of neutrality.

The problem of context

In our view, the reluctance of adult educators to locate the individual within a societal context which may not be taken for granted or regarded as a single whole is a core problem of mainstream theory. This problem is a characteristic of Western social science from which adult education derives its principal theoretical assumptions. As Thomas Popkewitz has recently noted: "The concern of much modern scholarship is upon how individuals move in relationship to persisting entities" (Popkewitz, 1984:16). Similarly, Ettore Gelpi has commented on the world-wide trend among educationalists and others to ignore the "social and political forces involved in the educational process" (Gelpi, 1979 (1):22).

What then of the social reform impulse in adult education?

In an earlier paper (Sissons and Law, 1982) we set out to systematically examine models of adult education, especially those that purported to contain a change element. We identified three alternative mainstream models:

1. an upward mobility model based on individual self-advancement needs;

2. a helping/coping model designed to directly or vicariously blunt the harsh impact of life crises; and

3. an allocatory model whereby deliberate intervention techniques are employed to equalize the resources to individuals. This model is an outgrowth of the social-democratic emphasis on access - "equality of opportunity".

What struck us about these models was their inherently adaptive character. In other words, even when they purport to be concerned with social change, adult educators defines the individual within an adaptive framework. They accept existing social relations as a given (Ibid.). As Gelpi concluded:

> The educational and cultural models of the elite have often been passively accepted as models for the working class, even when its own social and political purposes have been different from those of the elite (Gelpi, 1979 (1):26).

In other words, mainstream theory lacks an understanding of power relationships; it is divorced from class understanding.

In formulating theories about the individual and individual needs, adult educators make choices about which ideas they will adopt and how these ideas will be applied. However, these choices are made within an ideological framework which is itself shaped by past practices, educational theories and practitioners' perceptions of history. However, because the material of history, the struggles of working people, is not neutral, interpretations of history are political interpretations. Certain ideas are legitimated, while others are treated as illegitimate. This process is deliberate:

> Historical consciousness is acceptable to the prevailing dominant interest when it can be used to buttress existing social order. It becomes dangerous when its truth content highlights contradictions in the given society (Giroux, 1981:39).

Russell Jacoby has labelled such suppression of history "social amnesia" (Jacoby, 1975). Elsewhere we have explored this idea as it relates to adult education (Law and Sissons, 1983). In this paper we propose to only touch on the main points.

In adult education, the liberal progressive tradition has provided the principal framework within which ideas have been developed, especially ideas about social change. Although the emphasis has, over time, shifted from the societal to the individual, it is this tradition which links social betterment with individual development. There is a notion of reciprocal responsibility" between adults and the society in which they live (Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982:50). What this obscures is the fact that liberal progressivism itself was a particular response to an alternative, radical adult education tradition, independent workers' self-education. The "acceptable" blotted out the "unacceptable"; social amnesia set in. Furthermore, because most adult education histories incorporate the values of liberal progressivism and evaluate developments in terms of those values, adult education's historical, social and philosophical foundations tend to be presented within an equilibrium paradigm. Thus a wedge is driven between reformist and transformist education; one is seen as "education", the other as "agitation".

The historical roots of liberal progressivism reside within the search for a middle path between unbridled capitalism and revolutionary socialism. From around 1890 on, the industrialized countries entered into a new era of technological change as powerful capitalists sought to systematically reduce "labor costs by rationalizing the work process and restructuring the work force" (Green, 1980:10). This spawned a militant union response. In the United States 92 people died in strikes between 1890 and 1897. The courts, the national guard and unskilled immigrants were all mobilized to break the union movement (Ibid).

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was the principal organizational expression of worker militancy; it was particularly strong in the United States, but its influence was worldwide, especially in the English speaking countries. This was a profoundly educative movement; it raised the political consciousness of its supporters. The tremendous output from the Chicago publishing house, Kerr & Co, is evidence of this emphasis on political and social education.

In the United Kingdom, there was a long tradition of independent worker self-education. The first significant era, 1790-1848, coincided with industrialization and culminated with the defeat of Chartism and the "Bread Riots" (Johnson, 1979; Morton, 1976). This tradition was based on a "substitutional" strategy; it was independent of mainstream education, such as it was. It emphasized "really useful knowledge":

> ...a knowledge of everyday circumstances, why you were politically oppressed and why, through force of circumstance, you were the kind of person you were....(Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1981:53).

To some extent the forerunner of modern adult education, the Oxford reform movement, was a response to this early radical tradition.

The second significant era, c1890-c1925, can be distinguished from the first British era in several ways: it was an international movement; the scale of industrialization in the advanced capitalist countries was vast; this new era was informed by Marxism, it was overtly revolutionary.

In the United States, revolutionary unionism was effectively suppressed by violence on the part of state forces and the large capitalists; in Britain, and later in its colonies, the response included a process of incorporation. The oppositional movement in Britain emphasized a need for a "particular kind of education aiming primarily at meeting the specific needs of workers as a class" (Horrabin, 1924:9) [Original emphasis]; it did not go unchallenged:

> The ruling classes saw the importance of education for workers as a form of social control. A tradition of workers' self-education emerges and conflicts with a tradition of middle class philanthropy supportive of, if ameliorating the status quo (McIlroy, 1980:198-199).

Roger Fieldhouse locates the Workers' Educational Association firmly within that middle class philanthropic tradition:

> The Mansbridgean WEA was welcomed with open arms by the Oxford social reformers... Mansbridge's view of education, echoing so completely their own ideas, was totally acceptable to the Oxford liberal. The new Association promised to be a safe beneficiary of their liberalism, an ideal opportunity for acquiring a veneer of working class participation and support without risking any fundamental upheavals (Fieldhouse, 1977:7).

These are important insights for they focus on that particular moment in history that gave birth to the liberal progressive tradition in adult education and on the organizations which were, to use Gelpi's words again, "educational and cultural models of the elite" and which served as vehicles or conduits for a reformist ideology: for a particular concept of "social change".

The reformist models developed in Britain influenced thinking and developments in many countries. The 1919 Ministry of Reconstruction report cemented in the "statist" (within the system) ideas developed by the Fabians and within the WEA. The report also incorporated ideas from the early works of John Dewey:

> ...the essence of democracy being not passive but active participation by all in citizenship, education must aim at fitting each individual progressively, not only for his personal, domestic and vocational duties but above all for those duties of citizenship for which these earlier stages are training grounds (1919 Report "Letter of Transmittal" quoted in Boshier, 1980:191).

Returning army educationalists took these ideas back to the colonies (Williams, 1978; Boshier, 1980), while they became incorporated, along with other aspects of Dewey's thinking, in Eduard Lindeman's ideas about the potential for adult education in North America.

Much of Lindeman's social analysis was very radical. However, after Dewey, he had an abiding faith in the possibility of reform within the existing constitutional framework. He seems to have been particularly alarmed by militant unionism and carefully distinguished between "revolutionary propaganda" and "workers' education" which leads to "the displacement of the use of force by the use of intelligence" (Lindeman, 1961: 26-27). His program for social actionists, such as trade unionists, was one which allowed them "to continue to utilize the compelling power of a group and still remain within the scope of democratic behaviour" (Lindeman, 1945; quoted by J.R. Kidd in preface to Lindeman, 1961:xvi).

It might be noted in passing that the strategy of incorporation was also employed in the United States. Ohliger and Fewster (1975) have suggested an interesting link between the land grant universities and agrarian discontent, especially the role of the extension service:

> The Extension idea was able to quell the social and political divisiveness engendered in the farmers' movements of the last half of the nineteenth century and to introduce a new set of rural symbols based on education, technology and political organisation. (Miller, 1973:9; quoted in Ohliger and Fewster, 1975:2)

Ohliger and Fewster go on to suggest that the "Wisconsin Idea", one of the most influential extension programs in the United States, can be linked to strategies designed to head off farmer discontent.

The significance of the ideas discussed above lies in the fact that they shaped the context within which ideas about needs were subsequently developed. In the case of Lindeman, his importance internationally has grown with the emergence of North American adult education theory as the dominant influence in the field, especially with respect to program planning and development.

Of course, the context within which ideas about the individual and individual needs have developed extends far beyond the confines of adult education history and theory; the North American tendency towards postivistic, psychological reductionism is a reflection of patterns of development which encompass all the social sciences. The point we wish to make here, however, is that the tradition within adult education has not equipped adult educators to critically evaluate the philosophical assumptions about the individual and the social context which underpin the sociological and psychological research and theories that have been subsumed into adult education theory.

The problem of individualism

Over the past 25 years extensive work has been undertaken in order to codify adults' personal and social development. Much of this work has consisted of the detailed application of psychological and sociological research to the field of adult education. The relevant theoretical work in mainstream adult education can be divided into two elements: one which emphasizes the pressures of society and asks what roles adults have to play in society and, therefore, what competencies they need; and the other which looks from the viewpoint of the developing individual. The second element assumes a growth trajectory which begins at birth and lasts until death. It asks what are the characteristics and impulses of adult growth stages and what learning needs these imply.

In brief, mainstream theory asks two questions: (1) What does a good citizen need to learn? (2) What does a well-functioning adult need to know? While there is nothing inherently wrong with the questions themselves - they could be validly posed in a transformed society - it is the context in which they are posed and the way in which they are answered that presents problems.

In more recent years, adult education specialists have tended to fuse these two question, borrowing from both 'life-cycle' theorists and 'third force' psychologists. With respect to particular target groups, women, minorities, the poor, these two streams have been overlaid with the idea of the 'disadvantaged' adult, a notion which was

> uncritically related to a wide range of physical and personal defects and social conditions in which diverse groups were linked together, and by which complex social, economic and political manifestations of inequality went unchallenged...
>
> The language of 'personal deficit', 'affliction' and the need for 'treatment' to 'rehabilitate' the 'malfunctioning' adult into 'normal' society runs like a medical checklist through the literature. The tone is one of mission and concern for the less fortunate, in areas in which the 'distinctions between therapeutic, educational and welfare needs become very difficult to establish' (Thompson, 1980:87; Quotations from Jones, 1972).

We have already referred to Dewey's influence on inter-war thinking: how "In liberating the learner, a potential was released for the improvement of society and culture" (Elias and Merriam, 1980:47).

This remains a very strong impulse in contemporary adult education theory. First, the "student-centered" approach which is based on Dewey's notion of "child-centered" education. Second, his "experimentalist view of learning and living (which) emphasized the uniqueness of individual experience in the attempt of the individual to adjust to a hostile but pliable environment" (Archambault, 1957:38). Third, the "new focus for educational theory" that resulted from this emphasis on needs and desires:

> If the process of adjustment was central to the learning process, then the needs of the child were to be considered basic to the educative process. Only by understanding the needs, interests and desires of the child and

> then using these as a basis for development and growth, could there be a valid and meaningful course of instruction and guidance (Ibid).

These ideas can be traced back to Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, as well as Darwin and Spencer. The last mentioned provided the practical, utilitarian bent of progressivism. They are not, however, without some radical potential. There is a need for a more critical study of Dewey (Apple, 1979:132), but the "ethical, experiential, and emancipatory dimensions" (Giroux, 1981:146) of progressivism have been lost sight of. Instead, Dewey's ideas have been used as a cornerstone of reformism.

We see this in their application to adult education. The classic statement applying Deweyan ideas to adult education is that of Eduard Lindeman:

> In what areas do most people appear to find life's meaning? We have only one pragmatic guide: meaning must reside in the things for which people strive, the goals which they set themselves, their wants, needs, desires and wishes. Even here our criterion is applicable only to those whose lives are already dedicated to aspirations and ambitions which belong to the higher levels of human achievement (Lindeman, 1961:8). [Our emphasis].

The underlined section points to some of the normative values underlying Lindeman's views.

After Dewey, Lindeman linked the democratic goals with learners' needs and method. In this sense, he was the first adult educator to discuss problem-centered education. That is, "wants, needs, desires and wishes" arise from individuals' encounters with life's problems. Thus we have a framework which identified legitimate areas of human activity - "dedicat(ion) to aspirations and ambitions which belong to the higher levels of human achievement"; the notion that in the process of striving to attain these goals, the individual "giv(es) attention to situations in which he finds himself, to problems which include obstacles to his self-fulfillment" and that this requires an educational method which is a co-operative venture", "nonauthoritarian, informal learning" ...

> a technique of learning for adults which makes education coterminous with life and hence elevates living itself to the level of adventurous experiment (Lindeman, 1956:160, quoted in Elias and Merriam, 1980:64).

Finally, this framework shapes the curriculum:

> In conventional education the student is required to adjust himself to an established curriculum; in adult education the curriculum is built around the student's needs and interests. Every adult person finds himself in specific situations with respect to his work, his recreation, his family life, his community life et cetera - situations which call for adjustments. Adult education begins at this point (Lindeman, 1961:6).

Nearly 60 years later, Lindeman's application of progressivism to adult education continues to have an important impact through its incorporation into the works of more recent theorists such as Houle (1961;1976) and Knowles (1980).

Earlier we identified two main streams of theoretical work, social roles and that of the developing individual. In practice, most later writers see the inner and outer impulses as interlinked. Hence, Neugarten (1977) defined the "normal expectable life cycle" as a process subject to simultaneously inner and outer sources of regularity, and to a series of complex interactions between the self and the body, th self and others, and the self and changing social and historical conditions. The two are so sensitively interrelated that within a developmental context, adult learning to a large extent consists of accumulated experiences that influence problem solving strategies, coping mechanisms and adaptions to the tasks salient to different stages of adulthood.

Generally speaking, adult educators have adopted developmental models popularized by Havighurst, Erikson, Neugarten, and others. These writers' works pepper those of the main adult education theorists and are extensively discussed by Cross (1981) and Darkenwald and Merriam (1982). Knox's (1977) notion of "change events" draws on the developmental literature and highlights how adult education practitioners can help adults adapt to change. The only point about this literature that we wish to stress in this paper, is its adaptive character. Various social roles and adult 'responsibilities' are identified - parent, worker, spouse, club member, citizen etc. - and value judgements made about the adequacy of individuals' performances (Peters and Boshier, 1976).

While the social roles adults are required to perform are, generally speaking, observable, the 'internal' determinants of participation have proved more difficult to pin down. Starting with Maslow's hierarchy, almost as a given fact, researchers have developed a raft of empirical instruments designed to identify the psychological drives that motivate participation. Most of this work draws its theoretical inspiration from Maslow, Rogers, Allport and other third force psychologists. A major New Zealand report, Lifelong Education (Simmonds, 1972), draws on the work on an exponent of 'psychodynamic' psychology, R.W. White (1966).

Again, the broad outline of these writers' works is well known. What is central to all, especially in terms of their application to adult education, is the notion of 'equilibrium' or 'congruence'. The concept of equilibrium has been strongly critiqued from an analytical perspective (Archambault, 1957; Lawson, 1979) because it "is wholly dependent upon a clearcut notion of a norm of attainment" (Archambault, 1957:51). But:

> given the dynamics of a social situation involving such intangible qualities as self-actualization, sufficient awareness, etc., an objective norm defies construction (Ibid). [Original emphasis].

Our concern, however, is not so much with the analytical as the ideological. Armed with a paradigm of what adults might conceivably require to know in order to function well, the next step is seen as 'operationalizing' needs:

> There is a good deal of confusion and controversy in the psychological literature regarding the nature of needs and interests, and the difference between them. It is not relevant to the purposes of this book to explore these issues ... What is relevant ... is the operational definition of needs and interests in a way that is useful for program development ... and the teaching-learning transaction (Knowles, 1980:83).

As indicated earlier, the various needs assessment and motivation studies all assumed both inner and outer pressures on individuals to learn. All made some use of notions of congruence and dissonance to account for the gaps between the individual's values and/or performance and the values of the group, and thus to explain the delicate tension between accepting and rejecting opportunities for further education.

Some general comments may be made about these models of learning needs. As Archambault noted in the 1950s, both the psychological and sociological models of adult development are unacknowledgedly normative. The healthy and socially responsible adult is defined in terms which leaves underlying values unquestioned and unacknowledged. Adherence to the norms is, understandably, also assumed as being essential to health. Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:77) reflected this value-set when they identified "acceptance of the social roles and functions that define adulthood" (our emphasis) as the distinguishing mark of the adult, going on to describe the "roles of wage-earner, marriage partner, parent, decision-maker and citizen" as in themselves denoting the "independence characteristic of adulthood" (Ibid). [Our emphasis]. Following Maslow, several writers even emphasized the invariate order in which the successive stages must be successfully mastered since "failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by society, and difficulty with later tasks"

(Havighurst, 1952, quoted in Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982:90).

Ingleby, (1981:13) has described the 'third force' psychology upon which these theories are based as an "optimistic ideology". He continued:

> Here we find a faith in man's essential goodness and creativity which is totally opposed to the message of Civilization and its Discontents. Why, then, do we say that this optimism is as ideological as Freud's gloom? Because it denies that social change is necessary for individual liberation. Whereas, as Habermas (1976) puts it, "an autonomous ego and an emancipated society reciprocally require one another", for these authors autonomy can be cultivated purely within the confines of the individual ego (Ibid). [Original emphasis].

In his devastating critique of this psychology, Jacoby described it as:

> the ideology of conformism and synchronization in the era of late capitalism ... The concepts are less than critical; they are blank checks that endorse the prevailing malpractices with cheery inner strength and self-actualization. Maslow's 'peak experience' is the misery of everyday life condensed. Liberation is a banal existence plus enthusiasm ... The ordinary is extraordinary because it is ordinary. The alchemists of liberation transmute the base wares of capitalism into the treasures of humanity (Jacoby, 1975:57-5b).

The problem of consumerism

At the pragmatic, program planning level, adult education effectively equates "needs", "wants" and "consumer demand". Like a cafeteria, the adult education agency offers a smorgasbord of courses and seminars as if they were consumer commodities. A combination of forces push agencies in the direction of this simple model. Adult education is a marginal activity with a fragile base. Most practitioners operate out of voluntary agencies or institutional appendages; resources are limited, often they depend on the discretion of a parent body which sees the adult program as an income generator. More recently, private entrepreneurs have moved in to cream off the lucrative, upmarket, leisure programs.

In effect, adult education has, to some extent, become absorbed into a leisure industry. Cultural pursuits have been objectified and commercialized in a way that dovetails with the reorganiza-

tion of capital, especially "at the point of consumption" (Clarke, 1979:245). This process implies the adoption of contemporary ideologies which are often manifested in the types of courses or subject areas that become fashionable. Adult education, like sport, forms part of a wider group of leisure activities; it is

> ... socially sanctioned as an appropriate arena of individual expression where an individual can develop interests and personal qualities that may be inhibited in the work context... (Keddie, 1980:55) [Our emphasis].

A 1978 New Zealand survey neatly illustrates these points. In this exercise, "needs" were operationalized into safe clusters of cultural, recreational, vocational and related pursuits. Moreover, these were seen as "spare-time" activities (Department of Education, 1981). [Our emphasis].

It is important to recognize the link between notions of "spare-time" and "socially sanctioned" pursuits. In an age of rapid technological change and growing mass unemployment, adult educators can be easily seduced by slogans about "increased leisure" and the "constructive use of leisure". Such slogans redefine the effects of the economic crisis; they cleverly maintain the mythology of post-war "affluence" while obscuring the harsh reality of widespread poverty. In this context, culture is not only reduced to amusement, it also serves as a means of social control.[4]

Tailoring programs around "consumer demand", therefore, is not a neutral activity. So-called "felt-needs" reflect dominant ideas in the wider society; ideas about what are socially sanctioned pursuits; ideas about what sort of personal attributes or skills one should have; ideas about what vocational qualifications one needs for job advancement or to enter the workforce. As Nell Keddie succinctly observed:

> ... the rhetoric of individualism obscures the way in which terms like "individual need" and "student centered" are socially constituted and located in ways that make adult education more readily available to certain social groups (Keddie, 1980:56).

The problem of neutrality

In the course of the above discussion there have been several references to the myth of neutrality in adult education. There are three dimensions to the notion of neutrality which we wish to summarize.

First, the idea that "knowledge" is neutral. Within the liberal progressive tradition there is the idea that "knowledge" stands apart from context; this view is even more strongly argued from

the pure liberal tradition represented in adult education by writers such as R.W.K. Paterson (Paterson, 1979). Paulo Freire has added depth to the critique of this point of view. Writing about Freire's ideas, Giroux noted that:

> Knowing is not a matter of the best way to learn a given body of knowledge, but a theoretical-practical issue designed to distinguish between essence and appearance, truth and falsity. Knowledge parading under the guise of objectivity, has for too long been used to legitimate belief and value systems that are at the core of bondage. "Objective" knowledge not only mystifies, but it also turns people into spectators by removing the norms and values underlying it from public debate (Giroux, 1981:131). [Original emphasis].

Freire has usefully redirected attention back to some of Lukacs' ideas about knowledge and facts. Facts imply an 'interpretation', they only become meaningful within a particular context. Capitalism produces a particular type of social structure which in turn gives rise to a particular set of interpretations (Lukacs, 1983:5). Thus, part of the problem of context that we have been discussing is that the framework within which adult education ideas are developed carries with it an implication of "objective" knowledge. Social change education seeks to "puncture the social illusion so produced" (Ibid).

A second aspect of neutrality is the idea of an educational vitamin pill that can be administered to any educational weakling. The helping/coping strategy, the allocation approach with its emphasis on access and the upward mobility model all, to varying degrees, proceed from the assumption that through education, the "disadvantaged" can be given a bigger slice of cake without realizing that education is part of the cake.

The third aspect of neutrality, one that is prevalent among those educators who see themselves "contributing" to social change is the idea of the educator as a sort of catalyst, a person who does not need to be personally committed, a "facilitator" who stands outside the process of struggle; what Colin Fletcher calls "parachuted experts" (Fletcher, 1960).

Conclusion

All the ideas about needs and the models of needs assessment referred to above assume a neutral role for education. Assumed to be both self-evidently necessary and of specific and sought-after value in "change events", education is treated as neutral and catalystic, ideology-free except in so far as the learner's memory of schooldays and the adult educator's use of memory jogging school-oriented techniques put a block in the way of learning.

Adult development, then, is seen as a series of needs to change in an adaptive way. Education helps that change to happen as comfortably as possible, and with as much likelihood of a return to equilibrium as possible. In one of the classics of international adult education, Lengrand summed it up:

> Existence has always meant for man (sic), for all men, a succession of challenges: advancing age, illness, the loss of a loved one; encounters, and the encounter above all others of man with woman or woman with man, the choice of a lifetime companion; wars and revolutions...the birth of a child; the mysteries and enigmas of the universe; the significance of a life, the relation of a finite being to the infinite; an occupation, money to be found, taxes to be paid; competition; religious and political commitments; slavery and freedom, political, social and economic; dreams and realities (Lengrand, 1975:25).

These models should also be seen within their historical epoch, an epoch marked by the growth of consumerism and service industries, the last big expansion of postwar capitalism; an epoch marked too by the growth of information technology when it appeared that the new closeness and visibility to another of people throughout the global village would necessarily require education to enable individuals to discriminate between the "truths" of one's own society and that of others'. Similarities between the motivations of providers of adult education in the 1960s and 70s, and the impulses of legislators in Britain in the 1840s are striking. Lengrand again:

> We are witnessing the growth of a civilisation of a planetary character in which every man is concerned with every other, linked with the other in solidarity, whether he wishes it or not, except where obstacles of a political nature are placed in the path of the spread of news. ... Information can only play a constructive role if it is accompanied by an intense and continuous process of training. ... Choice is demanded at every stage, whether in arriving at a judgment concerning the importance and degree of truth or credibility of incoming news or in giving information its due place in relation to the other means by which the personality is helped to grow and strengthen (Ibid. 31).

II A TRANSFORMATIVE THEORY OF NEEDS

Mainstream thinking in adult education views the individual as a passive object; it affirms the social order which it regards as "natural" or "evolutionary". The social order can be amended or reformed, but not substantially changed. Needs, then, are seen on one hand as being unconditioned and freely chosen, but on the other hand as reflections of "human nature"; of "intrinsic drives".

A social change perspective views the individual in precisely the opposite way. The social change approach regards the individual as an active subject; as a human being who, acting in concert with others, can change social relations. A transformative theory, therefore, requires a reconceptualization of the individual, an alternative theory of needs and a program which includes an educational dimension that seeks to develop a critical awareness of the way in which needs are socially constituted; and, by implication, other needs are suppressed.

In order to develop our own thinking, we have found it necessary to go back to first principles; to free ourselves of the ideas that we had internalized over a number of years in the field of adult education.

Paulo Freire begins Pedagogy of the oppressed with a discussion on "humanization". He argued that dehumanization

> although a concrete historical fact, is not a given destiny but the result of an unjust order that engenders violence in the oppressors, which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed... This, then, is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well (Freire, 1981:26). [Original emphasis].

Thus the reader is immediately presented with a fundamental, philosophical problem: What is humanization? What constitutes human essence? Further, how does one develop an understanding of human essence without slipping into the realm of the metaphysical; without relying on notions of "spirituality"?

In our view, the social analysis developed by Karl Marx provides a useful framework for examining these and related questions. The theory of human needs was explored and developed by Marx in many of his writings. It is a vital concept in his thinking in two main ways: first, because one of his basic definitions of the healthy and free human being is of the person who is "rich in needs"; second, because his vision of the starting point for the overthrow of the domination of capitalism lies very precisely in a personal revolution in the basic needs of individual proletarians.

This section of the paper explores Marx's definition of human needs and of the distortion of human needs under capitalism; and begins to define the signs of radicalizing of needs which alone can lead to fundamental improvements in the social structure. Our thinking has been significantly influenced by the writings of members of the "Budapest School", in particular, George Markus' analysis of Marxism and anthropology (Markus, 1978) and several works by Agnes Heller, especially her works on needs (Heller, 1978 1976a, 1976b). We have also found Kate Soper's work to be helpful (Soper, 1981).

Reconceptualizing the individual

What is it that makes human beings quintessentially human? For Marx, the major constituent elements of human essence are universality, consciousness, social existence, objective existence and freedom. Drawing primarily on Markus, we propose to briefly elaborate on each of these.

There can be little argument that human beings are natural beings; as such, they have much in common with other animals. But humans are human natural beings; they have specifically human characteristics. Humans differ from animals "in, and by, (their) specific life activity and this specifically human life activity is work in the broad, philosophical sense" (Markus, 1978:5). [Original emphasis]. We are talking here of production. Animals produce within limited boundaries; they produce to meet their immediate physical needs and those of their young. This process is undertaken in order to reproduce the species. Humans do much more. Human work extends beyond the satisfaction of immediate physical needs. Humans take items from nature which they change and shape for human use using either nature-given or human-made objects as instruments. As humans work to satisfy an immediate need, a new and expanded range of things is produced. As the process of work widens

> it becomes - both quantitatively and qualitatively - more and more universal in respect of its impact both on nature and on man. And if work constitutes the essential activity of man, then man is essentially a universal natural being, in the sense that he is potentially able to turn any object of nature into the subject matter of his wants and activity... (Markus, op.cit:12) [Original emphasis].

As Heller puts it, what differs humans "as a social being from the animal world are the possibilities of the species in itself" (Heller, 1978:46).

Humans are social beings. This concept contains two ideas. First, being human can only be achieved and sustained through contact with other human beings. Second, each generation

> appropriates, incorporates into (its) life and activity (to a larger or lesser extent) abilities, wants, forms of behavior, ideas etc, which were created and objectified by other individuals of earlier generations or (contemporaries). So the human individual in its concrete personality is even in itself, taken in isolation a product of social intercourse and history (Markus, op.cit:16).

In other words, those aspects of the individual which mainstream theorists call "personality traits" are socially constituted.

Human beings are conscious beings. This is a critical aspect of Marx's concept of human essence:

> The whole character of a species - its species character - is contained in the character of its life activity; and free, conscious activity is man's species-character. Life itself appears only as a means to life.
> The animal is immediately at one with its life activity. It does not distinguish itself from it. It is its life activity. Man makes his life activity the object of his will and consciousness. He has conscious life activity (Marx, 1981:68). [Original emphasis].

Humans act intentionally: they are conscious of something, of an object. Their "object-directedness" extends beyond immediate needs. Markus elaborates on this concept by noting its two dimensions. On one hand, Marx is talking about consciousness as the "mental reproduction" of reality: as cognizance of the world and other persons. On the other hand he is referring to "aims, ideals and values which await their realization through practice" (Markus, op.cit: 26).

Finally, humans are historical beings. This history is not accidental or "natural" or "determined"; it is self-created. Human beings, as a result of conscious life activity, have transformed both the species and the natural environment. The world in which humans live is a world shaped by human beings. Through the course of their history, humans are developing freedom from limiting factors: freedom from hunger, freedom from disease, freedom from cold. Where these freedoms do not exist in a concrete sense, for example, in North-east Africa where

terrible famine is decimating the population, it is still human decisions, not the natural phenomenon itself, that is primarily responsible for the level of starvation and death. Humankind has the capacity to alleviate much of the suffering in Africa, but it does not do so because of political decisions not to provide adequate relief.

A second sense of freedom is the greater power humans have over nature and over one's own nature: "the widening of the scope of human possibilities over which man can, individually or collectively, dispose" (Ibid:58).

Although we have presented them in a different way, these constituent elements of human essence correspond very closely to the conceptualization of the individual that underpins Freire's work, in particular, Pedagogy of the oppressed. This is not surprising given the centrality of Marx's Economic and philosophic manuscripts to Freire's ideas and the influence of Lukacs. Lukacs' ideas also influence the work of Markus and Heller, both of whom were at one time his students. In our view, this perspective of the individual provides a sound basis for developing a transformative theory of needs.

Needs

Marx's definition of the healthy person as "rich in needs" alerts one immediately to the problems of defining a concept that we have contact with only in a distorted form. What late-twentieth century capitalist society defines as "need" is intimately linked to that society's governing consumerist orientation. To need something is to be without, lacking, "needy". That need, if it is validated as one which capitalist production can supply, can be filled with "something". (If it is not validated, as being seen today with regard to the "need to work", it is ignored, or redefined as, in this example, the "Puritan work ethic").

Marx turned this deprivation concept back on its feet. Mature and free humans are not those who need nothing, but precisely those with a range and diversity of ever-renewing needs, in a dynamic relationship with the objects of those needs. And the society which best fits such free persons would be a society where their satisfaction would be limited only by the needs themselves. Furthermore, needs create other needs, and this distinguishes people from animals whose needs can only be directly satisfied. "Insofar as we create tools to satisfy our needs, the need for tools is already a new need, different from animal need" (Heller, 1976:41). Also, human needs are both passions and capacities (the passion and the capacity to appropriate the object). Hence, capacities are themselves needs. The capacities to create, to work, to invent are also needs to create, work, invent.

Marx traces the development of human needs from "natural communities" through to capitalist societies. In every case needs are distributed qualitatively through the population according to the division of labour and along with the extent of

subordination of individuals to the social structure. Capitalist society has a completely contradictory relationship with the development of needs. On the one hand, the capitalist forms of production encourage:

> The development ... of the natural sciences to their highest point; likewise the discovery, creation and satisfaction of new needs arising from society itself; the cultivation of all the qualities of the social human being, production of the same in a form as rich as possible in needs, because rich in qualities and relations - production of this being as the most total and universal possible social product ... is likewise a condition of production founded on capital" (The German Ideology, quoted in Heller, 1978:47).

On the other hand, it is also in the nature of capitalism to limit the enrichment of needs by maintaining ownership of property and production in a few private hands; by impoverishing the proletariat; by degrading the highest productive force, the worker; and by distorting the concept of needs to fit in with the priorities of capitalist production. It is the growing sense of this contradiction that Marx sees as leading individuals to realise that they must act to change their social conditions.

Under capitalism people's needs, like the rest of their lives, have become alienated, and the sense of free choice is misleading. As Marcuse puts it:

> Under the role of an oppressive whole, liberty can be made into a powerful instrument of domination. ... Free choice among a wide variety of goods and services does not signify freedom if these goods and services sustain social controls over a life of toil and fear - that is if they sustain alienation. And the spontaneous reproduction of superimposed needs by the individual does not establish autonomy: it only testifies to the efficacy of the controls" (Marcuse, 1972:21).

Heller defined the characteristics of alienated needs under four headings:

a) Means and ends become inverted. Thus, for example, persons which are the highest object of human need, become the means for acquiring greater material wealth. Money becomes an end instead of a means.

b) Quality becomes subordinated to quantity of possessions. The monetary value of objects defines their value.

c) Capitalism works to impoverish needs. As we remarked earlier, some needs are validated, others are not. In the long run, all needs are reduced to "the need to have".

d) Needs are reduced to their lowest denominator - their usefulness or selfishness index. This process is like all the others, fully assisted by the propaganda of the dominant element in society. (Heller, 1976a; 1978).

Thus, capitalism contains within itself both the capacity to enrich and expand human needs, and the capacity to dull and limit the lives of people to an extent where they get out of touch with their own needs. For the working class who are the most exploited by capitalism, this leads to a magical attitude to the world outside and to one's own fate; it leads to Freire's "culture of silence" where the silence reigns within oneself as well as between people.

Marx defines the alienated person as the "particular person", so reduced in needs and consciousness that he/she works only to maintain his/her own self - to survive. This involves a quasi-transcendent relationship to the world outside, and correspondingly a never ending attempt to identify with the whole system of customs and requirements that make simple self-maintenance possible, conflict-free and comfortable.

Movement out of this state comes only when the contradiction becomes so clear and insupportable to the individual that he/she has to act to change the situation. In the context of capitalism, this moment is when the person becomes conscious of their alienation and what Marx calls "radical need" is born. It is a radical need not only because it is a very basic, root impulse, but also because its satisfaction can only come through change in social relations.

As Heller points out, Marx did not see as appropriate for him in his time the detailed definition of how radical needs could be recognised and encouraged or how they might be responded to. It is for us now to start to devise strategies: "He established a norm against which we can measure the reality and value of our ideas, and with which we can determine the limitedness of our actions" (Heller, 1976:130).

Earlier we discussed the constituent elements of human essence, we now wish to more directly relate these to needs. Markus emphasizes the "unity" of people and nature in Marx and how this is realized in production as material social activity (Markus, op.cit.:14). As people work to satisfy needs, the process of work impacts both on nature and people:

> The universality of man appears in practice in the universality which makes precisely all nature his inorganic body both inasmuch as nature is 1) as a direct means of life, and

> 2) as the material, the object, and the instrument of his life activity (Marx, 1961:67).

Thus universality denotes all-round development and integration of a sort that education systems at all levels discourage under capitalism.

An awareness of objective existence, therefore, is the acceptance and fostering of the material basis for human life; consciousness involves the sense of oneself as related to other people, to history and to material conditions. Social existence is the acknowledgement of collectivity; the realization that the highest development of the species comes from collective social advancement evidenced in co-operative work and ownership and in the development of community as an end in itself.

These insights inform and expand on the concept of freedom discussed earlier. For Marx, freedom "is not some eternal, existentially given metaphysical quality of man... but a historical capacity and situation which only unfolds... in social development" (Markus, op.cit:57). [original emphasis]. In the "abstract-negative" sense this means freedom from historical limitations, the capacity for humans to liberate themselves through real activity; through conscious life activity.

But, in its historical tendency, this is also a "concrete-positive" force:

> ... the real destruction of limitations means, at the same time, the very positive development of the force of production, real energy, and the satisfaction of irresistable needs - the expansion of the power of individuals (Marx, The German Ideology, quoted in Markus, op.cit.:56).

The realization of freedom requires the transcending of alienation; social transformation is about creating the social conditions which make possible

> the elimination of the antagonism between human essence and existence, social and individual development, objectification and self-realization (Markus, op.cit.:59)

The above discussion enables us to begin to define some of the qualities that accompany the emergence of radical needs. First, it is working people who must experience and express their own radical needs. Such needs cannot be created or interpreted for them by sympathetic middle class observers. As the class with nothing to lose, working people will, according to Marx, become the liberators of the whole of society. It should be noted here, too, that all radical needs are first and foremost individuals' needs, not group needs. Marx cautions, too, that educators have

no role in interpreting "correct" needs out of "incorrect" needs articulated by the working class. Freire underscores this point in all of his works, especially in those sections that deal with the role of revolutionary leaderships.

Second, radical needs will involve an expression of the need to change key material aspects of the social conditions of capitalism for all the working class. The vital question of the privatization of ownership and the resulting division of labor is a crucial aspect of radical needs. Following logically from this is the realization that radical needs can only be met by political action; the power balance has to be changed by political means.

At an individual level, the movement that Marx sees taking place is away from the personal and conservative concerns of the particular person, towards the species-orientation of the "individual person", defined as the person who "'synthesizes' in himself (sic) the chance uniqueness of his individuality with the universal generality of the species" (Heller, 1976a: 46).

For us, this section of Heller's work crystallizes important concepts which are essential to the development of a transformative theory; in particular, the concept of the individual is turned back on its feet. Locating the individual within a universal, social, conscious, historical setting highlights for adult educators involved in social change education the critical importance of self-consciousness. Heller distinguishes I-consciousness from self-consciousness; we think this distinction is important. An I-consciousness is when people have an understanding of their own unique characteristics and the general requirements of society; an appreciation of what is necessary to conform. Self-consciousness implies an active awareness of how one conforms; the individual is able to stand back and critically look at him or herself and the environment within which he or she lives everyday life (Ibid).

In Section I of this paper we suggested that the failure to locate the individual within a social context which may not be taken for granted or regarded as a whole is a core problem in mainstream theory. In effect, it is the core problem from which others we discussed develop. Kate Soper argued that all "appeals to the concept of 'human needs' are, and must necessarily remain, problematic", she continued:

> But ... it is only if the question of human needs is posed in a form that recognizes this problematicity that it is posed in its full dimensions, and that means, importantly, in the acknowledgement of its political dimension (Soper, 1981:1) [Original emphasis].

Although our views differ markedly from Soper's in several respects, hers are important and valuable insights:

> The stress that liberal theory places on the 'truth' of felt needs or wants is not mistaken as such: what has to be attacked is the coercive force of the theory of the autonomously chosen and unconditioned nature of those needs or wants that is expressed through this emphasis (Ibid:10).

Freire also dealt with the place of 'felt needs' in Pedagogy of the Oppressed: specifically, where he was discussing the contribution of Gabriel Bode:

> Bode observed that the peasants became interested in the discussion only when the codification related directly to their felt needs. Any deviation in the codification, as well as any attempt by the educator to guide the decoding discussion into other areas, produced silence and indifference. (Freire, op.cit:109).

However, Bode also found that even when he focussed on felt needs, the peasants had difficulty concentrating systematically on the discussion. As Freire puts it: "They almost never perceived the relationship of their felt needs to the direct and indirect causes of these needs" (Ibid). Bode opened up a "thematic fan extending to 'auxiliary' codifications...

> by means of the dialectics between the essential and the auxiliary codifications, he has managed to communicate to the participants a sense of totality. Individuals who were submerged in reality, merely feeling their needs, emerge from reality and perceive the causes of their needs (Freire, op.cit:109-110). [Original emphasis].

These ideas about needs, ideas developed from a transformative perspective, inform our model of social change adult education.

III ADULT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

In Section I we discussed the adaptive framework within which mainstream theory defines the individual. We also noted that much of what purports to be "social change" adult education is still adaptive. This is not to suggest that there are not, within this tradition, ideas that have some radical character. Many of the ideas that adult educators have been attracted to in recent years, such as the "radical" humanism of Carl Rogers, have elements which challenge some fundamental assumptions about the "complexities of domination" (Giroux, 1981:65), especially in the

classroom. But, as we noted near the end of that section, what is left is an optimistic, conformist ideology.

These points were made very well by Henry Giroux in a sympathetic, but critical, critique of what he called "strategy-based radicals". Again, it is the lack of contextual analysis that he identified as a core problem: strategy-based radicals:

> depoliticize(s) the function of methodology and end(s) up reproducing in their pedagogy a limited subjectivist notion of freedom...
>
> The stragegy-based radicals are caught in a curious but fatal paradox. On the one hand they acknowledge the power of the dominant social order to manipulate students into docile, obedient members of the society. But on the other hand, they do little to help them to move beyond a cheery spontaneity, the substance of which is anchored in the manipulative behavior it is alleged to overcome (Ibid:86).

An alternative radical approach is that which stresses content. The process of "teaching" takes the form of a political exorcism whereby the evil ideas developed under capitalism are driven out and and then replaced with a form of political "sanctifying grace": the "true word". We find this to be a very real problem in labour education an area in which we are both actively involved. There is a genuinely held belief among some in leadership positions that the problem is not the form of education, but the content. Further, there remains pressure (for example, problems with paid release) to "educate efficiently". This often means congregating large numbers of participants into lecture-type situations. Giroux commented on such "content-focussed" radicalism:

> Content... is abstracted from the classroom social encounter. As a result, the distinction between oppressive and radical classroom relationships is blurred and a pedagogical model is developed which fails to recognize the covert 'messages' inherent in the pedagogical styles used to transmit information. Thus the content-focussed radicals bypass an important ideological dimension of the learning experience, a learning experience they claim to redeem (Ibid:87).

In the closing pages of Pedagogy of the oppressed, Freire emphasized the importance of not relying on a "banking education" approach:

> Any attempt to unify the peasants based on activist methods which rely on "slogans" and do not deal with their fundamental aspects produces a mere juxtaposition of individuals, giving a purely mechanistic character to their action. The unity of the oppressed occurs at the human level, not at the level of things. It occurs in a reality which is only authentically comprehended between the sub- and superstructure (Freire, op.cit.:175).

A social change model of adult education

In Pedagogy Freire addressed a fundamental question: If liberating education requires political power and the oppressed have none, how is it possible to engage in transformative education prior to the advent of revolutionary social change? There are three aspects of his overall response that we wish to build on in this concluding section. First, Freire distinguished between "systematic education" and "educational projects". When we discuss education for social change we are discussing educational projects. Second, that liberating education consists in acts of cognition: the development of class consciousness. Third, that this is not only an intellectual process, but also involves action - a praxis.

Our alternative, social change model, recognizes struggle and direct action as an important dimension of transformative education; specifically educational activity with working people. Gelpi's views have influenced our thinking for some time, he wrote:

> In fact, it is often an outcome of these struggles that the cultural interests, motivations for learning and the specific educational needs of workers are expressed, sometimes forcefully (Gelpi, 1979 (2):16).

This observation, together with the discussion so far, summarize the ideas that have helped us develop a social change model. For us the salient core characteristics of a liberating educational project are:

Goal: Collective empowerment which is action oriented.

Access: For the economically, culturally, socially and educationally oppressed.

Control: Participant decision-making within the context of a co-operative target group pursuing collective goals and methods.

Curriculum: Holistic, incorporating an "historical commitment" and comprising a skills development/education mix oriented towards action for social change.

Elements of this model can be found in many social action campaigns. Such campaigns are often very real adult learning projects: activists acquire not only a depth of knowledge about the campaign objectives, but also a variety of very useful, indeed necessary, organizational skills. Adult education can be involved in the "teaching" of those skills, but in the process the skills or techniques tend to become generalized and divorced from politics.

A second problem with social action is that it is often localized; many people work very hard in discrete campaigns to win an improvement here, a concession there. These localized battles are important. But as the link is broken between one campaign and another, the concept of "movement" is eroded; participants lose the sense of being part of a universal struggle for a better world.

These problems are compounded by what is sometimes called the "middle class" character of some campaigns - environmental issues, the peace movement, aspects of the women's movement. Often these campaigns appear to be divorced from the real struggles of working class people: irrelevant to the poor and the oppressed who are struggling for basics, decent housing, nutritional food, adequate health care, useful employment, educational opportunities for their children, and so forth.

We use the word "appear" because the environment, world peace, the elimination of racism and sexism are all essential elements of an agenda for humanization. Further, as Gelpi has emphasized in discussions with us, there is within the scientific and technical community a radical momentum that is developing out of a recognition of the ultimate impact of many technological developments. The contribution scientific, medical and other professionals are making to the peace movement and the environmental movement are just two examples of this.

We believe that it is not accidental that campaigns remain localized or focussed on single issues. In our experience, as mass struggles develop, the dominant forces in society move to blunt the thrust of such struggles: the issues are redefined. But if we look at developments internationally, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that this need not be so.

Within any social formation and between different formations, both the nature of oppression and the response of people will vary according to the social conditions prevailing at the time. In terms of specifics, what is appropriate in one situation may not be appropriate in another. But while struggles often assume a unique, perhaps national characteristic, there is an internationalization of broad struggles, a not too surprising reflection of the international dimension of advanced capitalism. Through our involvement in the labor movement we have noticed how the trends in all of the industrialized countries are strikingly, but not unexpectedly, similar. As the level of working class

struggle has intensified during the economic depression, so has the response of the state. Repressive industrial laws and the systematic denial of freedom of association and trade union rights represent a loosely co-ordinated attempt by capital to roll back the conditions won by earlier generations of workers.

At the microcosmic level, working people are fighting for much the same things in all the industrialized countries - useful employment, decent housing, better health care, safer working conditions, educational opportunities and so forth. And, as we have already mentioned, in a number of countries there are well entrenched movements in support of world peace, for the elimination of racism and against sexism.

We believe that the potential for effective, social change education is within these movements: within the broad movements, such as the general struggle of working class people around particular issues and within specific movements involving women, Maori people, immigrants, or the unemployed. In many countries such marginal people often occupy positions in the labor market below the plateau occupied by organized labor. Gelpi argues that adult education should pay much more attention to such marginal people as they often experience the brunt of economic crises and are at the cutting edge of the movement for social change (personal discussions, June, 1984). An effective model for liberating education must, however, be more than just located within these movements. It needs to recognize the ebb and flow between the individual and the context and not lose sight of either. A social change model is concerned with personal grievances, it seeks to develop an understanding of how such personal grievances are social problems requiring social solution. It is concerned with mobilization.

The immediate challenge confronting practitioners such as ourselves is often not one of involving ourselves in activities related to such struggles, but rather one of critically appraising our own practice, both at a personal and an institutional level: to realize the aims of social change education without falling into the quagmire of reformism whereby the effect of efforts to deal with the contradictions created by capitalism is simply a papering over of those contradictions.

Substitutionism versus statism

Earlier we discussed the tension between substitutional adult education which tended to be oppositional and radical and statist adult education which tended to be reformist. We agree with Rachel Sharp that:

> The only true educational movements are those which are insulated from the state and under the people's control (Sharp, 1984:29).

We also agree with her general observation that "we need to be realistic" (ibid). Therefore, what does "being realistic" mean today?

Sharp points to a definition when she identifies two overlapping aspects of struggle. She is talking specifically of education, but the ideas apply more widely. First, this is a time of intense restructuring, economically, socially, educationally. For working people and indeed for many middle class people, this is a defensive phase; they are mobilizing to retain the reformist gains of the past and "to ensure that the form of this restructuring does not negate our long term goals" (ibid). At the same time, we are trying to organize in pursuit of those long term goals; a "long slow process... (that) must go on simultaneously" (ibid).

As the Centre for Cultural Studies Group has pointed out (1981), there is an ongoing tension between substitutional and statist strategies. In recent years, a number of those writing about radical education and welfare strategies have addressed this issue in one form or another - Bolger et al (1981), Mayo (1975), Sharp (1980), Willis (1981) and others. As might be inferred from our model, we feel that the situation in New Zealand education generally, and especially in adult education, is by no means sufficiently clear cut to enable a stance to be taken across the board. New Zealand is not post-revolutionary Guinea Bissau. And we suspect that in other industrialized countries the situation is similar to our own."

Although we believe it will be increasingly difficult to do so (the case study of the WEA presented by John Benseman in this volume illustrates this), it appears that for as long as possible a mixed strategy is required. That is, retaining the level of access and limited freedom that exists within the "education system" against the inroads from commercialism and manipulation while at the same time trying to create more space within established education agencies as well as developing substitutional activity within movement organizations.

If a mixed strategy is not going to simply revert to reformism, it has to be pursued in conjunction with the other elements of our model. There is a need to struggle to validate "out-of-school" experiences, to offer bridging programs which suit the learners, not the institutions. Further, it cannot be pursued without a commitment to those whom the strategy ultimately seeks to serve.

This strategy raises difficult issues. It is particularly important to confront the issue of control. In the field of trade union education, both in New Zealand and overseas, for example, the United Kingdom, the decision to accept state funding for labor education has presented unions with very real problems with respect to control (Law, 1981). The challenge is to wrest concessions from the existing system while at the same time building substitutes.

Some examples of practical work

In two papers written concurrently with this (Law and Sissons, 1984a; 1984b), we illustrate points similar to those outlined here by reporting on some case studies, summaries of which are presented below. Some of the case studies contain both reformist and transformist elements; none may be considered especially remarkable. However, they reflect the practical experiences of practitioners, people with whom we have some empathy, people who have tried to make sense of their practice and apply it.

Critical teaching in an institutional setting.

Ira Shor has outlined some very useful strategies in his book Critical teaching and everyday life; strategies that could be applied in a range of adult education settings, including adult basic education. Shor suggests taking some consumer item from mass culture - a hamburger or a car are two examples - and using this familiar item as a provocateur of deep social analysis. He proposes a five stage process: 1) describing the item in detail; what did it mean to the students; 2) locating the item within its immediate social setting; 3) undertaking a global analysis; 4) locating the item in time; 5) locating the item within a longer-term timespan; within history.

We have experimented with Shor's approach, using a "Big Mac" as a provocateur. First students explored the idea of junk food; they noted the burger's nutritional quality, assessed value for money and compared it to alternative, similarly priced foods. When the item was examined in the context of its social setting, issues relating to employment and culture emerged.

Particularly interesting discussions have developed around the different responses of teenage undergraduates and mature students. For the younger class members, MacDonalds has been a natural part of their lives. But for older students their association always resulted as a product of MacDonald's pitch to their children. These and other discoveries about the way MacDonald's market their goods in turn raised wider questions about the way in which MacDonalds and similar franchise holders have become an accepted part of the New Zealand culture. When students have had overseas experiences, or when overseas students have been present, it has been possible to extend that discussion to examine the impact of fast food chains on other cultures.

During one of these discussions an interesting link was established between the arrival of this type of franchise and the introduction of mass television. Students concluded that without television, fast food chains would be non-viable as it was saturation television advertising that created the market demand. Locating the item in time, brought this earlier discovery into sharper perspective. Again, it was the older class members who recalled life before MacDonalds and Kentucky Fried. In New Zealand, take out food has traditionally been prepared in small, neighbourhood based, family owned shops; this

was true even of the first generation of hamburger bars. But with the implantation of franchise chains, these family shops have frequently gone out of business. Again, similar patterns have been observed overseas, for example in South Asia.

The final step in this analytical process, examining the item over a longer timespan, revealed the ways in which people's eating habits have changed and become more commercialized.

These experiments have produced a variety of learnings. At the general level, they have stimulated discussion about the way in which franchise chains have penetrated the New Zealand economy. More important, they have prompted participants to critically explore the ways in which they themselves have become caught up in the fast food culture, either directly as consumers or through their children.

University extension

In her recently published book, Learning liberation: Women's response to men's education, Jane Thompson reports on a Southampton experiment entitled "Second chance". This is a "serious and committed program for women" which aims to offer an introduction to law, literature, sociology, politics and history, "though in a form which is uncommon in university adult education". The program was advertised "explicitly for working class women" and the organizers were, from the outset, up-front with the political character of the course (Thompson, 1983: 148-195).

"Second chance" involves regular meetings. Within the program a comprehensive program of study is developed designed to offer liberating education for women. As Thompson herself stressed, the focus of the workshops is similar to that of many other developments in Women's Studies. However, it is explicitly for working class women; it has been developed within an existing institution; it is serious, comprehensive, systematic and quite lengthy, making heavy demands on participants and organizers alike. Within the program tutors and participants have developed appropriate learning processes. This combination of factors, together with the way in which those involved are developing their own praxis, makes this a very good example of some of the possibilities that exist within adult education.

As we have noted elsewhere (Law and Sissons, 1983), this is important because the moving edge of the women's movement (in New Zealand) is largely outside and often wary of the adult education agencies. With some exceptions, adult education practitioners in our country have done little to identify and discriminate in favor of working class women.

Community education

In a small, isolated New Zealand town, one of our colleagues, Trevor Mallard, worked from a community education base to develop a learning project for young, unemployed Maori youth, most of whom were members of a street gang, the "Mongrel Mob".[3] The young people's immediate needs included useful employment. As most of them had prison records and were early school leavers with few "work skills", they were generally classified as "unemployable".

After lengthy discussions, a co-operative work scheme emerged from out of this group. However, unlike similar projects elsewhere, the members in this scheme did not confuse their technically "self-employed" status with social reality. The group voluntarily unionized and observes union contract conditions and procedures: shop stewards are elected and correct dispute procedures followed. Thus each worker is both part of the collective and an individual with full union rights.

Involvement with the union has meant involvement in the political and economic issues with which the union movement is concerned. Work trust members play an active role in local union affairs, participate in labor education programs and help strengthen the general level of political awareness in the town. Other educational activity has focussed on needed work skills in order to enable the group to tender for work contracts; but it has also included mini-learning projects around such themes as racism, sexism, economic relationships, the place of alcohol and cigarettes in trust members' lives, relations with the police and so forth. However, the principal learnings come from the total experience. Among the most significant of these is the realization that bosses are not necessary.

Employment skills programs

The myth of social mobility is a cornerstone of the free enterprise ideology. Success is individualized; attributed to personal skills, initiative and pluck. By implication, failure is also an individual problem; the person is "in deficit". Unemployed young people, especially ethnic minorities, have been hurt most cruelly by this deceit; young people are blamed for their own predicament. In most Western countries there is pattern to both the identification of the "problem" and the so-called "solution": skills training, adult basic education, programs to facilitiate the "transition from school to work". Following on from Britain, New Zealand has launched a modular program cynically entitled "school leavers training and employment preparation scheme (STEPS)".

Some progressive educators have been scornful of the scheme and tried to avoid having anything to do with it. In Rotorua, a mid-North Island city, a group of local community organizations decided to take this government financed scheme and transform it.[4] They believed that unemployment was a structural not a

personal problems. They noted that the burden of unemployment was falling most heavily on those who were least able to bear it: the young, Maori and Pacific Islanders and women. They concluded that this was because of racism, sexism and the class location of Maori and Pacific Islanders. On the basis of this analysis they defined their aims and resolved:

> That the most important aspects of the program be centred on developing in ourselves and the young people self awareness, personal growth, aroha [love] towards yourself and others, commitment to being rather than having and a range of other qualities such as responsibility, discipline and consistent. [Puawai, undated].

From this critical reappraisal emerged Puawai, a program that involved a deliberate restructuring of STEPS. An important change was to break out of the modular system which had the young people shunted around different training agencies. Instead, Puawai keeps groups of young people together at four home bases, which avoids the fragmentation that occurs through the modular system and allows a collective identity to develop. Each home base is a "community house" and most of the team workers are drawn from the local community.

Learning to make collective decisions and working together to achieve the goals set are important aspects of the teenagers' learnings within Puawai. In the process of discussing projects, the young people have begun to develop some understanding of causes of the nature of their situation and why it is so. Within the project there is a special emphasis on developing the young people's identity as Maori and on breaking down stereotypes with respect to men and women's roles.

Puawai may yet founder; it is under enormous pressure from the government bureaucracy. It is not particularly radical. Many of its specific goals are adaptive, but it does more than simply provide a better alternative to young people. Projects like this contribute to the wider political debate by directly challenging popular myths about unemployed young people. The learning approach adopted challenges individualistic styles of work; it promotes collectivity and a collective understanding. Finally, such projects provide experiential support for demands for educational alternatives.

labor education

Elsewhere we have discussed various aspects and possibilities in labor education. In this paper we restrict ourselves to a current project, labor videos.

Since late 1983, Linda Bissenc and Ray Hartridge have developed a new dimension to labor education in New Zealand by producing a number of simple video films. The first of these dealt with

changes in industrial law. This was a complicated, highly charged debate prompted by party political opportunism on the part of the then governing party. Sissons and Harbridge, along with Trish Sarr, made a simple, low budget, 13 minute video which outlined the main issues and discussed the law's effects. The issue demanded some explanatory content, but the main emphasis was the effects of the new legislation on workers. Rather than have only "experts" describe these, the producers filmed shop stewards and rank-and-file workers.

The initial film was so well received at meetings of workers, that three more were made within five months. All deal with topical issues; all address the political aspect of these issues. The films are not designed to be shown as documentaries, rather they are designed to act as "trigger" films, as discussion starters. In reviewing our experiences with these videos, we find that the really positive element is the involvement of workers on film. When other workers view the videos, they see people like themselves analysing and discussing issues which the regular media tend to represent as being "high level" and complicated. What is happening here is that an instrument of hegemonic mass culture, television, is being transformed into a tool for counter-hegemonic education. The form is the same, but the content and the commentators are different.

Independent labor education

The North American experience is rich with examples of independent labor education. A rank-and-file organization of autoworkers, the "Independent Skilled Trades Council" is a good, contemporary example.[5] Since the 1970s, the I.S.T.C. has been organizing around issues that concern American auto-workers - contract conditions, the introduction of new technology, the establishment of "quality circles" in auto plants and, more recently, concessions and give-backs.

What strikes us about the I.S.T.C.'s work is the strong educational dimension. The Council adopts an holistic approach. In its regular publication, The Skilled Tradesman, U.A.W. members discuss issues within the industry which are firmly located within a wider context. Special "one-off" publications are produced as required while the I.S.T.C. is also involved in more structured educational activities such as seminars and workshops, often in conjunction with activist groups from other sections of industry.

This educational activity is directly linked to action. Throughout its history the I.S.T.C. has actively involved members in leaflet distribution, mass meetings of workers, pickets, strike activity and so on. Further, while criticism of the union's leadership is an important component of the Council's publicity, the principal thrust of its efforts is directed against the major motor companies and the politicians.

The I.S.I.T.C. is, therefore, both a political and an educational organization which is itself firmly located within a section of the working class movement. Its effectiveness is obviously a product of its integration into the struggles of autoworkers and the educational approaches adopted by its leadership. From the outside, it seems to be a very good illustration of the educational model we outlined earlier.

Labor education and international solidarity

Our final example concerns another North American activity, a U.S. Labor Delegation to Nicaragua.[6] In November, 1983, 11 U.S. unionists visited Nicaragua to meet union people in that country. They met union officials and with factory and plantation workers they studied social services and educational projects. During their visit they took care to ensure that they made contact with a range of labor opinion, including meetings with a non-Sandanista union body, CUS. This organization has close links with the AFL-CIO and the Nicaraguan equivalent of the Chamber of Commerce.

On their return to the U.S., the labor delegation prepared and published an eight page report in which they outlined various experiences from their visit. They were careful to ensure that not only did they report on the views of the Sandanista affiliated unions, but also on the views of CUS. The report is a very good example of printed educational material. It deals with those aspects of everyday life that are relevant to working people regardless of the country they live in. It provides a factory-gate view of post Somoza life and what it means to working people. The report documents in what tangible ways things have changed.

As union activists living in a third country, we have learned a great deal from this report. The people who went to Nicaragua appear to be credible unionists. The report is tempered and informative. As labor educators we were struck by the "pedagogical soundness" of the document. It has been read by many working people in our country simply because it discusses, in a credible way, the same sort of issues that they feel strongly about.

Personal implications

Our general mode implies a strategy that involves real challenges for the adult educator; several of the case studies underline those challenges. First, the theoretical problems we have alluded to, especially those related to radical needs. In that section we reaffirmed that it is the working class which must experience and express its own needs. This implies that the educator must integrate him or herself, in a genuinely commited way, into the process; become part of the struggle for social transformation, regardless of where that educator is employed. In this we agree with Wexler (1982) who is very sharp in making the point that simply throwing around catch phrases is not

evidence of commitment. Again, it is the merit of contemporary Cultural Studies group that has provided some useful insights into what this means in practice (Clarke):

> being actively educative is not just a question of "carrying a policy to the public" or destroying myths about education. It involves learning too. It involves really listening to popular experiences of formal education. It involves research, centering around particular struggles and local issues. It involves making links with other agencies - researchers, community activists, Black groups, women's groups - not to take them over, but to learn from their experiences and practices. It involves creating a real branch life at the level of ward and constituency, something actively to look forward to, energizing rather than deadening, developing socialist understandings and commitment... (Johnson, 1981; quoted in Giroux, 1983:238).

Being active in this way implies risk, especially for those who are employed in "education". The repressive economic, social and political environment that obtained during the 1970s highlights the need for urgent social change education. Yet at the same time it also induces an intimidatory climate of inaction which silences most social service practitioners, particularly those dependent on either direct or vicarious state funding. In the prevailing atmosphere, just debating meaningful social change involves risk.

We have for some years affirmed the need to seek social change allies. The present era is a dangerous one. On one side there is a very real danger of a catalysmic nuclear disaster, on the other side the very real possibility of a re-emergence of fascism masquerading as "democracy". The quest for allies is a logical extension of the action dimension of social change education. The time available and the resources at the disposal of those who seek to transform society are obviously limited, but, as Rachel Sharp has recently noted: "We still have reasonable amounts of freedoms. We have intellectual resources" (Sharp, 1984).

The immediate challenge is not so much one of "testing commitment", but rather one of deciding, for oneself, what one is committed to and then developing an action program - praxis - that commitment.

.....

3. These ideas have been developed out of writings of the Frankfurt School and the work of Clarke (1979).

4. While we do not believe the election of a Labor government in New Zealand (14 July 1984) affects the broad thrust of the points made here, it may change some of the immediate emphases within New Zealand, e.g. with respect to the nuclear weapon issue.

5. Sources: Personal observations; discussions with and documents from Trevor Mallard; video documentary: Proving everybody wrong.

6. Sources: Nuwar documentary; discussions with and assignments from Wendy Lee.

7. Sources: Discussion with Dwight Hanson; I.S.T.C. documents, I.S.T.C., P.O. Box 125, East Detroit, MI 48021.

8. Sources: Discussions with Carlos Santiago; Face to Face: An inside view of Labor in Nicaragua, American Labour Education Center, 1126 Wilkerson Place S.W. Washington D.C. 20024.

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ADULT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

A paper presented to a conference on "Rekindling Commitment" organised by the International consortium for Social Commitment in Adult Education at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, U.S.A. on Monday 11th June 1984.

Introduction

In discussing the problem of rekindling commitment in adult education to social change there is little doubt that N. Ireland is one area of the western world where such commitment is particularly important. In this paper I want to reflect upon some personal experiences in adult education and community action in N. Ireland over the twelve years; to draw some general conclusions about the role of adult education in the process of social change, to outline some of the problems of rekindling commitment amongst adult educators and adult education institutions.

I would like to do this by saying something about the situation in N. Ireland; outlining the responses of ordinary people to that situation; describing some initiatives in adult education linked to that popular response, particularly in the field of community action, highlight some of the problems and contradictions for me both adult educators and community activists; list some of the lessons arising out of that experience, finally say something about a new initiative - the Ulster People's College - established as a result of those lessons.

The Northern Ireland situation

Northern Ireland has been described as a society under siege, a society where there is a problem for every solution. The usual picture is one of violence and sectarianism. However, it is, in fact, a society facing all the problems of modern industrial nations plus armed conflict and community division. That is the other side of the picture rarely seen on T.V. screen i.e. the problems of social, economic and cultural change.

The social changes are those related to the growing centralisation of social and welfare services and resources. Increasingly people have to deal with

[illegible] bureaucratic and confrontational service which regards assistance with housing, welfare, educational problems and needs. There is a growing gap between people and providers, between those who control the resources and those who need them.

Another area of change is in cultural and moral values, resulting from changes in family and community life. There are inevitable tensions and strains in the home, between men and women, between parents and children. The traditional values of close knit communities in N. Ireland are slowly being eroded by popular culture, consumerism and urbanisation.

Finally there are the problems brought about by economic decline and technological change. N. Ireland has one of the highest unemployment rates in the E.E.C. Belfast is linked with Naples as the two poorest cities in the Community. Add to this the problems of automation and de-skilling and it is easy to understand why people talk about the de-industrialisation of N. Ireland.

The situation is well summed up by a community worker in Derry - a city profoundly effected by all the problems outlined above:

> "When I think of all the social problems there are I mean Creggan has everything. It's got poor housing. It's got people on low incomes. Those that are employed are on low wages, the majority are unemployed. When you're talking in terms of Creggan - widows, pensioners, single parent families - you name it we've got it. We've got poor facilities medically, we've got poor facilities in so far as shopping is concerned; no telephones, no place to post your letters. I sometimes think that if we were back in biblical days and John Baptiste was running around looking for a wilderness he wouldn't go to the desert he would come to Creggan. This is an estate of two and a half thousand houses and there is something like a population of 13,000 people. Perhaps the authorities are fortunate that the people up here have a certain amount of self respect for themselves. God knows how they managed to keep this about themselves with the situation as it is. But, somehow the people managed to keep themselves together. Maybe it's a pity that people haven't lost the head a bit, that they haven't gone beserk and showed up the authorities for what

> they are - I don't know, unfeeling, inhuman, unconcerned. That's the impression we get up here; nobody cares, nobody's interested".

It is obvious from the above comments that many of N. Ireland's problems are similar to those found in other depressed regions. However in N. Ireland they are compounded by violence and sectarianism. Some commentators see it as a society suffering from a vast nervous breakdown at community level, with the social fabric slowly disintegrating. This is not true. As the comments from the community worker above illustrate the people are brave, resilient, humorous, friendly in the face of great adversity over the last fifteen years.

The popular response

The ordinary people of Northern Ireland have responded to this situation with initiative and imagination. They have been involved in various forms of community action designed to protect their communities and to tackle the socio-economic and cultural problems outlined above.

This "community action" was a result of experience gained in the early 70's in running their own communities in times of strife e.g. from Derry and the Ulster Workers' Council Strike. This is well summed up in the comment of a local community leader at the time:

> "The Derry Citizens Action Committee were notable for one thing. They didn't have a community organisation but they have had street committees. The D.C.A.C., after the initial clash in 1969 adopted a social role. They went into the various streets and got representatives from the streets so that no decision was made by the D.C.A.C. unless the street representatives had a say. As well as that it was quite common, after a decision had been made to go out into the street, have a meeting on a street corner and say that a decision had been made to-night - do you agree with it or not? You had a democracy, perhaps a primitive form but still a democracy which enabled people to feel that they were having a say in what went on. It was amazing how the bureaucrats were able to co-operate with the D.C.A.C. which had declared its intention of overthrowing the government. It was unbelievable. The local bureaucrats and local

officials came and offered their service. Life went on normally. The bins were collected, the roads were swept, the electric power was left on. It's amazing how society just didn't fall apart in the circumstances".

The other forces responsible for the upsurge of community action were the changes outlined above particularly the problems of redevelopment and re-housing, lack of social facilities and poverty.

This process of community action involved people from both communities, people with no politics, people with radical views, people with connections with para-military groups in the province. It resulted in the formation of community associations, tenant groups, community resource centres, womens groups, housing associations, co-operatives, welfare rights groups, community transport groups, community relations groups, trades councils. At one time N. Ireland had over 500 such groups for a population of only 1 1/2 million.

This process provided, for a short period, a bridge between the two communities, emphasising their common problems. It even had some influence on para military groups like the Protestant Ulster Defence Association. One of their spokesmen commenting:

"We are aware that socially and economically we have more in common with our opposite numbers in the Republican (Catholic) side than we have with loyalist (Protestant) big wigs. But, how are we going to put this over? What formula are we going to find to get the ordinary people of Ulster to vote on real issues which concern them and not in the entrenched sectarian issues into which they have been brainwashed?"

Another Catholic community leader echoing the above said:

"No matter what happens to the National question in the final analyses the community struggle goes on, the struggle against the hopelessness and helplessness of ordinary people to manage to cope in a very complex society. We cannot separate politics from community action, no matter what we try to do about it, no matter how idealistic we may be".

The response of adult education

So what was the response of adult educators and adult education institutions to this burst of community popular activity? One would imagine that it would have presented adult educators with great opportunity to illustrate their sense of social concern, to broaden their sense of social responsibility, to commit themselves to the poor and the oppressed in both communities in N. Ireland.

Unfortunately, with a few notable exceptions discussed below) this was not the case. As a critical community educator in the province commented: "Looking at the adult education programme provided by Lausanne's University Populaire or Leeds University Belfast one could not easily deduce from them that Switzerland had a crisis of conscience about prosperity or Belfast a crisis of stability."

It was in fact an absurd situation with many adult educations institutions attempting to carry on as if the problems were not there. A situation found in other countries I'm sure. The priorities were seen as industrial training and increasingly leisure education for the unemployed, adult literacy and, remedial education for those with problems of adjustment as a result of the troubles.

There was increasing concern for the community but it was the commercial, business, education community not the community of the deprived and dispossessed. The latter was regarded as a marginal concern, a small minority. In fact they represented a sizeable proportion of the total population. However their problems were identified as ones of personal adjustment rather than social and economic injustice.

Despite, or in part of, this lack of institutional response a number of small community education projects were established in local communities by concerned local people and committed adult educators. One adult education institution did however decide to take a more positive response to the problems and initiatives outlined above.

An institutional response - The Institute of Continuing Education

In 1972 the New University of Ulster established an Institute of Continuing Education in Magee College, Derry. In various public statements the University emphasised its commitment to "an usually ambitious and large scale development of community oriented education concerned to open up university resources to the community to assist in tackling social, economic and political problems".

This statement of intent was taken seriously by certain members of the Institute's staff and they became involved in a process of community education and action. This process went through a number of stages:

(i) Active involvement in community action

The tutors became involved in various community and tenants associations offering their services, expertise and resources. They helped to establish local self help groups and took part in campaigns on local issues and problems. They made use of University resources to support these activities and campaigned for increased access to such University resources. This did not endear them to the University authorities. Public statements of intent are one thing, practise a different matter altogether.

(ii) Large conferences and seminars

As the 'community' movement grew staff were involved in assisting community groups to organise large conferences to discuss matters of common concern. This conference also helped to build bridges between Catholics and Protestants illustrating their common problems.

(iii) Reflective workshops

These workshops were concerned to help community groups and activists to reflect on their experiences and to plan future action in the light of lessons from such experiences.

(iv) Education and training

As a result of the above process requests were received for more sustained in depth study of community problems and training in skills appropriate to community action.

This process was not necessarily in the chronological order outlined above but it was in that general direction. It was very like the experience of other adult educators involved in this field of social and community action e.g. Highlander, Antigonish, Folk High School Movement. It was a process of action, reflection, education and further action, calling for a degree of flexibility and commitment not normally found in adult education.

Problems and difficulties

This process was not without its problems and difficulties. There were problems with the University, problems with community activists, and problems with community educators.

(i) The University

The University, as indicated above, found the practise in conflict with its own rhetoric. Action and Education did not sit well with the University. It was politically embarrassing. The University was not keen on opening up its resources to the community unless this was interpreted in the usual form of classes and courses. They wanted things neat and tidy, in the usual educational boxes.

The work was regarded as marginal to the main purpose of the institution. The result was a certain sense of isolation amongst staff which was only resolved when the work was supported by trusts and foundations and took the form of action research. This gave it a certain academic respectability but it did not remove the tensions between the staff and the institution.

(ii) Community action

The problem with those involved in community action was the lack of a coherent unifying ideology beyond the theme of "them and us". The dominant theme was one of anti-bureaucracy, anti-organisation, anti-leadership. The emphasis was on co-ordination of resources and establishing networks with no link between local action and the larger social, economic and political structures. The sense of unity was one of pragmatic concensus disguising a number of very different approaches to community problems and community action e.g.

(a) An emphasis on personal growth and development through community action.

(b) An emphasis on developing relationships between local communities and those with power and resources.

(c) An emphasis on creating alternative institutions.

(d) An emphasis on facing up the larger social and political structures responsible for local community problems.

As time went by the tensions and contradictions between these different approaches began to surface producing cracks in the movement.

(iii) Community education

Community educators like community activists were greatly influenced, at least initially, by Freire and Illish and the rhetoric of the non-directive approach to education. Thus there was in the early stages of the work an emphasis on informality, loose structures, verbal skills, local culture, networks, co-ordination.

There was a certain anti-intellectual, anti-academic attitude amongst certain practitioners. However, like community action, as the movement grew disagreements opened up amongst the practitioners particularly about the relative merits of style and process as against content and purpose.

Like community action community education took the form of different approaches, or models, based on very different views about education, human nature, politics and social structures i.e.

Community organisation model

In this model the sense of social commitment is seen in terms of individual growth and development. However the emphasis is on releasing the untapped abilities of individuals in disadvantaged groups and communities. It concentrates on co-ordinating existing educational resources and linking these to groups and communities creating new networks which enable adults to make use of those resources for their own learning and/or gaining access into higher education.

The work of Alan Tough in the field of individual learning and the growth of 2nd chance courses for women, unemployed and other disadvantaged groups fall within this model of social commitment. It does not concern itself with the social and economic structures underlying disadvantage but rather concentrates on releasing the ability of those in such circumstances so that they can determine their own individual future. It is an extension of the liberal tradition but was a greater emphasis on the disadvantaged and the need for co-ordination and co-operation between providers and local communities.

Community development model

The community development model is a further extension of the liberal tradition but with greater stress on helping communities to tackle social and economic problems. The community is seen as one encompassing not only the disadvantaged but all those concerned with the provision of services and assistance to the latter e.g. the urban community.

Thus there is an attempt not only to educate the disadvantaged in their various community groups to make them more effective but a 'community' dimension is added to the education of various agencies and professional groups e.g. city politicians, planners, social workers, teachers, school boards, etc.

The solution to social problems is seen in terms of increasing communication and co-operation between the former and the latter and various conferences, seminars, workshops are organised to bring them together to discuss community problems. It is very much the strategy of early poverty and community development projects in U.S.A. and St. Britain.

Community action model

In this model the emphasis is very much on encouraging various forms of action rather than co-operation as in the previous mode. Action itself is seen as a form of learning and there is often an attempt to create alternative structures and institutions. Adult education is a vehicle for assisting this process, helping people to reflect on their action, encouraging them to think in terms of creating new communities to replace the old.

In this model family and community life is the basis for education. It is

value rather than issue based concentrating on bottom up dialogue and consciousness raising using Freire type methods. There is an emphasis on reinforcing ties of culture, trust and community within groups, focussing on a sense of we rather than them. However although education in this model is concerned to create a new society it is from the bottom up rather than an attack on existing institutions and organisations. It is very much the product of the 60's and 70's when economic conditions were better than they are to-day. However it is a model with a long history in adult education and social change.

Social action

The social action model of social commitment concentrates on the role of education in helping to educate disadvantaged groups, communities and classes, into the social, economic and political structures responsible for their local problems. Their is less emphasis on creating new structures from the bottom up and more on challenging existing structures.

Again it is a model with a long tradition in adult education from the National Council of Labour Colleges in Britain to the Workers Colleges in U.S.A. and the Socialist Folk High Schools in Scandinavia. In many of these initiatives there was a concentration of intellectual skills and abilities, on acquiring knowledge and information which could be put to use in the class struggle.

In this sense it was a very traditional education, almost elitist. It was, and is, a model that is very suspicious of "informal" education for the working class. It advocates belief that such aproaches do a dis-service to the many men and women who are perfectly capable of reaching intellectual and academic heights if they are encouraged to do so in a supportive atmosphere. Often this atmosphere is one of commitment to the struggle for radical change through united action.

In practise these different models of social commitment in adult education are not usually so sharply defined or separated. Often projects exhibit two or more of the approaches although there are initiatives which have concentrated one particular approach e.g. National Council of Labour Colleges in Gr. Britain.

However each of these models represent different views on human nature, politics

and social change on a continuum which runs from change through individual growth and development, co-ordination and co-operation between haves and nots; the establishment of alternatives and change from bottom up; to direct challenge and replacement of existing institutions and structures. These different positions on adult education and social change have roots in social and educational movements in the past and many of the debates to-day are echoes of historical divisions.

The lessons

In Northern Ireland these divisions surfaced in the late 70's in many of the debates between and amongst community activists and community educators. The pragmatic concensus of the early 70's began to weaken as the decade neared its end and people became aware of the limited success of community action based on this approach.

There was no great change in the problems of poverty and inequality, in fact they had worsened. There was no evidence that people had any influence on the policies of major institutions. There was no programme of participation in schools, social welfare agencies, planning departments etc. Community action had, in fact, failed to exert any influence on the larger social and political structures in N. Ireland. There were small victories, a community centre here, and a youth club there but nothing which effectively dealt with the major problems of poverty and inequality.

As a result there was a gap between the rhetoric of the movement and its actual achievements. This gave rise to a certain disillusionment and retreat by some activists. It is well summed up in the words of a local community activist: "The experience of the Greater West Belfast Community Association in the field of community action is at best a harrowing one, at worst a receipt for violence. Violence in this domain is neither the violence of nationalism nor the counter violence of fear. It is the violence of impotence".

Their place was taken by others, or by political parties anxious to emphasise their concern for community politics. This was usually an extension of the "clientism", i.e. dealing with community problems by working closely with

community groups or taking up individual grievances. It did not represent a new politics in the radical sense of community activists.

However other community activists and educators decided that what was needed was a reappraisal of previous efforts, a conscious effort to determine their own social and political position and to choose the educational model or approach which reflected most accurately the latter.

This reappraisal meant a parting of the ways as different groups and individuals decided to plough their own furrow. I and others felt that the movement of the 70's had been too romantic, too naive, too easily influenced by popular theories and conventional wisdoms of the decade. We applauded the attempts to cross the sectarian divide to stress the problems common to both communities. However we felt that this did not grasp the nettle of the serious divisions which still existed between individuals and groups involved in this process.

We believed it was necessary to combine the best in the Community Action and Social Action models of social commitment in adult education; to stress the relationship between local problems and larger social and political structures; to bring the 'fragments' of social and community action together e.g. community groups, trade unions, womens groups, self help groups, cultural groups; to work towards a vision of a new society based on a hard analysis of existing structures and the lessons and aspirations of men and women attempting to create new structures; to stress objectives and content in adult education as well as methods and approach.

From our experience it became obvious that, on the one hand, not all alternative education was necessarily radical. On the other hand there were grave limitations in using existing Adult Education institutions for radical education and action. Their sense of social responsibility is to society at large. Work with the poor and oppressed is a marginal activity. This is not to decry the useful work that can be done from such institutions. There is room to develop innovate work. However there is the problems of isolation and marginality.

We decided to go back to other dreams, other schools; to set up a new institution offering a real alternative in adult education, providing education for individual and collective development and advancement - an Ulster People's College.

The College was eventually established in 1982. It is a combination of the Folk High School, Highlander and Ruskin College. It has two major educational objectives.

(i) The social and economic problems common to both communities in Northern Ireland.

(ii) The cultural and political issues dividing the 2 communities in Northern Ireland.

The College is thus problem oriented in its approach to adult education, working out in the various communities in N. Ireland providing advise, information, resources, education. It is situated in the heart of Belfast and has residential accommodation for 30 people. The latter is used to complement the work on the ground, to strengthen and extend the natural learning process of community action, to bring together people from both sides of the religious divide to reflect on their common problems and to discuss the cultural and political differences dividing them.

Already the College has become a focal point for numerous social and community groups who use its expertise and resources. Hopefully as this develops it will encourage the creation of a larger social movement bridging the sectarian divide, linking local problems to wider social and political concern, uniting the fragments in the search for a more just and equitable society.

Conclusion

I believe that the praxis of action and reflection outlined in the 'journey' described above illustrates that Northern Ireland is not an isolated case, that there are lessons for socially committed adult educators in other countries. Those lessons emphasise the need to clarify our goals and objectives, to decide where we stand on the continuum of social commitment outlined in the models described above. We need to get away from the nuts and bolts philosophy concerned only with the how? of things and concentrate on why? and where?

Never was the need greater to think in terms of real alternatives in adult education, helping people to dream their dreams, to construct their vision of

a better society out of their own experience. Such alternatives can reach back to that historical tradition in adult education which drew no distinction between action and education and stressed that adult educators should act as if what they do makes a difference.

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October 1984

GOING ABOUT IN ROUGH WATERS: A CASE STUDY OF AN ADULT EDUCATION ORGANISATION SEEKING TO BECOME A SOCIAL CHANGE AGENT

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Introduction

I remember enrolling with a great sense of anticipation some years ago in a course entitled 'Strategies for Change'. Like many people I suspect, I had developed a fairly well thought-out philosophy of social justice and ideas about the role of adult education generally, but felt somewhat lacking in my knowledge about the means of achieving my aims.

The course was a severe disappointment. 'Strategies for Change' turned out to be one lecturer's fancy title for 'Sociology of Education'. I finished the course not a great deal wiser about strategies relevant to my interests. I still believe there is a dearth of writing or discussion about ways in which ideals of social justice and purpose in adult education are translated into concrete realities. (I suspect it is largely because the people who have accumulated their knowledge and expertice are too preoccupied with daily routines and undervalue their experience too much to commit it to public record.)

This paper, therefore, is not a paper about ideals of philosophy or theory, nor is it a blow-by-blow account of programme details and daily occurrences. Rather, it is an attempt to describe how one group of people have sought to change a largely mainstream adult education institution into one that has achieved, at least in part, social justice ideals. It is my recording of this transition and therefore reflects my bias and viewpoints - others may see it differently.

For those of you unfamiliar with sailing terminology perhaps I should also explain my title a little. When heading into the wind, a boat has to sail at an angle approximately 45^{o} to the left or right of the oncoming wind in order to eventually reach a point straight ahead. This zig-zag progress then involves alternately sailing to the left and right of the desired direction.

With each change of direction the boat 'goes about' from a change of the rudder and the sails swing to the opposite side in order to head off in the new direction. Learning this skill, initially, and especially in rough waters, can indeed be a hair-raising experience.

My paper today then is an account of 'going about' in adult education, - the changing of an institution from a liberal, individualistic programme to one where there is concern for specific social groups, curricula and social justice ideals. To me, it illustrates the change, at an institutional level, from what is sometimes referred to as service policy to allocation policy.

Service policy (based on consensus theory) involves a 'free market' approach to adult education where programmes are determined solely by the expressed needs of people. Adult educators are responsible for organising programmes that 'meet' these expressed needs with little or no interpretation of them.

It is assumed that programme organisers are not selective in their hearing of peoples' needs and are only constrained by bureaucratic edicts re course numbers, locations etc. If a choice has to be made between two courses it is presumably on the basis of class size in that there is a largely unwritten assumption that quantity is the best indicator of value.

Allocation policy (based on conflict theory) on the other hand, arises from an explicit philosophy that sees adult education as a resource to which all sectors of the population have a right, with the onus being on the provider (whether the state or individual institutions) to ensure that they are distributed equitably to all groups, if not disproportionately to those groups who have not taken them up in the past.

Allocation policy also refers to the aims of the programmes funded. The central aim of allocation policy is to contribute to equity - adult education is seen as one instrument (along with welfare programmes, taxation etc.) aimed at reducing inequalities in the distribution of cultural, economic, political and social resources - so that not only do all groups receive equitable amounts of resources initially, but also by utilising those resources by way of adult education programmes, they in turn further influence the future distribution of resources in a just way.

In brief this paper covers the following

- the cultural and educational settings concerned
- the changes brought about

- two key factors in bringing these about
  - policy
  - research
- some of the prices paid in the process
- an evaluation of the present situation, i.e. a special word on funding and future research.

The Setting

New Zealand, or Aotearoa as the Maori people who first discovered it named it, is a land of bountiful natural resources, swathed in a forgiving, temperate climate and inhabited by 3 million people.

Contrary to popular myth and rhetoric, New Zealand clearly reflects inequalities of sex, race and class found throughout the world. While these inequalities are not as marked or as obvious as many other countries, they are nonetheless very real and are reflected in differentials related to health, work, wealth, education and other manifestations of power. Under the present conservative government there is every indication that these inequalities are actually increasing.

By way of brief illustration, the following figures were taken from the 1981 Census.

	Maori	Non-Maori
Total unemployed	14.1	3.7
15-19 yrs unemployed	33.0	10.0
15-19 years women unemployed	43.0	12.5
No formal school qualifications (all people over 15 years)	80.9	59.0
Home ownership	45.0	73.0

The reference to 'rough waters' in my title refers primarily to the current political climate in New Zealand. At present any group or individual daring to criticise current government policy or promote ideas differing from the

dominant conservative philosophy can reasonably expect the withdrawal of public funding as well as public scorn and censure. Amid all the public character assassinations and closed-door decision making, many groups have simply withdrawn from public debate or withdrawn completely.

Approximately 1 in every 4 New Zealanders lives in greater Auckland, the focus of my paper. This sprawling city is the industrial and commercial hub of New Zealand, and as such expresses more blatantly the social inequalities I have mentioned. Auckland is also the largest Polynesian city in the world with approximately 70,000 people being of Maori or other Polynesian descent.

Adult Education

Adult education in New Zealand is dominated at the government and institutional levels by service policy - or the supermarket approach - selling the greatest number of goods to the greatest number of people. Success is synonymous with numbers.

Very few groups have explicit policy statements that would lead to achieving the two prerequisites for allocation policy - namely

- recruitment of people with low resources
- activities that lead these people to acquire further resources.

With regard to the former most adult educators reply that they are 'interested in people, not statistical categories'. Despite their interest, however, research has shown consistently that their clienteles are dominated by the white, well-educated middle-class so prevalent in adult education world-wide (see for example Benseman 1979).

Educational activities that might help empower people or improve their access to resources are, of course, political in nature and are therefore not readily tolerated in an environment that is hostile to anything that questions, let alone challenges the status quo.

WEA

The Workers' Educational Association Inc. (WEA) is one of the oldest adult education groups in New Zealand, founded in 1914. Up until 2 years ago the WEA was one of the very few non-governmental, voluntary adult education organisations* to receive direct government funding. It is also somewhat of an anomaly, in that throughout its history, it has often made a public commitment to ideals, at least in part, consistent with allocation policy.

Appointment

In August 1981 Mary Hancock and I were appointed as tutor/organisers to the Auckland WEA. In brief, the situation we 'inherited' was as follows -

- a large, liberal adult education programme largely planned and organised by our predecessor (see Column one, Table 1 below)

  an elected body of office-holders whose ideals were consistent with ours

- government funding

- some members and staff who were very committed to a liberal philosophy of adult education.

In the three years since, the following have been achieved

- a considerably altered emphasis in courses (see Column two, Table 1)

In terms of clientele, approximately 90% of the Maori and Polynesian courses come from these groups; approximately 60% of the people in 1983 paid the 'unwaged' price for courses.

- total cut of government funding

- the resignation of some staff and members; the recruitment of others.

Obviously I could go into considerable detail about any one of these aspects, but I would prefer instead to push ahead and detail some of the means by which these were achieved.

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*the WEA is made up of individual and group members who elect office-holders annually. Employed staff are responsible to these office holder (the District Council).

Table One

Analysis of WEA Courses 1981 and 1983

	1981	1983*
Coping Skills**	8.0	-
Parent Education	13.0	-
Art, craft and music	16.0	6.0
Public speaking, leadership	7.0	2.0
Physical recreation skills***	6.0	
Adult basic education	19.0	(N.A.)****
Maori & Polynesian	4.0	32.0
Social & Political issues	2.0	10.0
Womens' Studies	4.0	31.0
Worker Education	1.0	5.0
Health	-	10.0
Tutor training	-	4.0
	100	100

*for a selection of courses offered in 1983, see Appendix 1

**e.g. Stress reduction courses

***e.g. Sailing courses

****The Adult Basic Education group had, by 1983, become virtually autonomous within WEA.

Policy

From the outset, Mary and I were clearly unhappy with the types of programmes WEA was offering and the type of people we observed it was serving. Neither, it seemed to us, had much to do with the general philosophy of a group like

WEA. I must also stress that our concern was also shared with a majority of the organisation's office-holders.

We therefore planned a discussion seminar entitled - 'The WEA - what's it all about?' Our main aims for this seminar were

- to offer a critique of the existing programme
- to point out areas of deficiency
- to suggest new alternatives
- to challenge people to take on new roles and perspectives within the WEA.

We set out then with the explicit aim of producing a policy consistent with the general ethos of the WEA. The lack of a specific policy previously had, I believe, helped engender and perpetuate the liberal-model of provision mentioned previously. Unless there are clear guidelines or criteria for programme selection to the contrary, programmes in my experience tend to fall into the liberal mould, if for no other reason that people tend to demand programmes of a type which are already available - thus setting up a self-perpetuating cycle of demand and supply.

The first part of the day consisted of a critical review of New Zealand adult education (including the WEA) - who it serves and its latent functions. Following this introduction, invited speakers or groups presented an analysis of the following areas - the arts, womens' studies, worker education, adult basic education, Maori and Polynesian programmes. Each gave an analysis of adult education provision in that particular area and how it could be treated in a way to promote ideals of social justice. In essence, most maintained that provision functioned as what Ana Krajnc, in relation to women in adult education, has termed 'toy education' - something frivolous to keep the powerless busy, and coping rather than encouraging critical analysis. Each area was also open for debate from the floor.

Quite clearly, many people had never been exposed before to different perspectives on their areas of interest. In particular, some felt very threatened by the idea of all education being political - either explicitly or by default.

As a result of this seminar, WEA's governing body, the District Council adopted a policy of giving priority to provision in four areas - womens' studies, worker education, adult basic education and programmes for Maori and Polynesian people.* While I don't think policy is ever finally achieved in full, the earlier course analysis shows that the WEA has made a significant move towards achieving these ideals.

In addition, there is an underlying assumption that the curricula in each of the four areas should be of a 'conscientisation' type. Hence 'womens' studies' is specified, not just 'women'. The assumption here is that knowledge from a feminist perspective for the women participants is seen as the ideal.

Having a firm policy for programmes has proved to be extremely useful from a number of viewpoints.

- giving the WEA a distinctive profile and identity, which in turn leads to attracting other groups and individuals with similar ideals. This is particularly important in a field where most adult education groups have an amazingly similar approach and image.

- providing a useful guideline for making everyday decisions and against which our performance can be constantly evaluated.

- having a ready-made justification for not including course proposals in our programme. It is interesting to note that people accept refusals or proposals more readily on grounds of a publicly-stated policy rather than the apparent fickle whims of an individual tutor/organiser.

- helping give a more critical awareness of what the organisation is about and more importantly, what its potential is.

Policy then, has become an important part of WEA's functioning.

*This did not mean working exclusively in these areas, but that these were ideals to aim for.

Research

Research has played an important role in many of the debates and decisions over the past three years. The added impact of research evidence is an undeniably useful tool in fleshing out a philosophical position. Inevitably, in running a very busy programme it has been difficult to find the time and energy to devote to research.

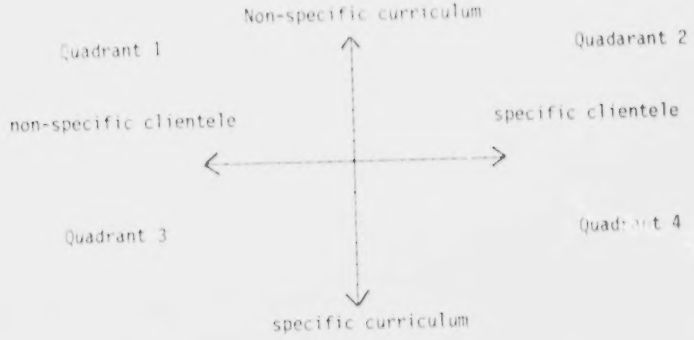
We have managed one major study and several smaller reviews. One example of the latter is the 'course analysis' presented to the philosophy day and now carried out annually. Another analysis looked at our locations throughout Auckland, overlaid with socio-economic status indicators. These are small, but valuable exercises.

The main study was a survey of all our 1982 tutors carried out by Alison Jones and myself (Benseman and Jones 1983). This study covered the usual social and demographic data used in clientele analyses, but also expressions of the tutors' educational and political ideals.

We carried out the survey because it seemed ludicrous to have fine statements of purpose on the one hand and (we suspected) tutors diametrically opposed to them on the other. We needed to know in some detail who our tutors were and what values and beliefs they were likely to be conveying in their courses.

Perhaps the best way of summarising the study is the following grid (see Figure 1 below) on which we endeavoured to summarise the tutors' views on education.

Figure 1. Grid for Analyses at Tutors' Views on Adult Education



The vertical axis represents their views on the desired curriculum - a non-specific curriculum where all knowledge is seen to be of equal value (synonymous with the 'supermarket' approach); specific curriculum where some forms of knowledge are judged to be more important than others (e.g. the presentation of a feminist viewpoint in womens' studies).

The horizontal axis indicates tutors' views on who priority should be given to - a non-specific clientele view saying that programmes are open to everyone, or the 'we're all people round here' viewpoint; the specific clientele end valuing the involvement of specific target groups more highly.

The analysis of the tutors' questionnaires and interviews showed the following distributions:

Quadrant 1	- 49%
" 2	- 25%
" 3	- 3%
" 4	- 20%
non-classifiable	- 3%

As with the course analysis, the results confirmed many of our suspicions but the extent of the differences surprised us all.

Discussions about the results showed that we clearly valued the quadrants 4,3 and to a lesser extent 2. We felt quadrant 1 tutors had little in common with our aims. Further analysis showed that subject areas were highly correlated with the quadrants - e.g. virtually all art tutors were in Quadrant 1; womens' studies, social and political issues tutors in quadrant 4. Again, in the light of our stated priorities, we had the knowledge and justification for making decisions regarding the hiring of future tutors.

Consequences

Inevitably there have been prices to be paid for these changes. In brief, these include -

Conflict At this point, most of the dust has settled, but there has been considerable conflict from time to time. On reflection some could have been avoided, but some was inevitable.

In changing priorities in the programme there has been some conflict with

(i) WEA staff and members, leading to some resignations.

(ii) Tutors whose orientation is not consistent with WEA policy. This has been a difficult area in that most of these tutors are women who rely on tutoring for their income. Fortunately most have been able to be put on to other adult education agencies and thus have been able to retain their employment.

(iii) Government agencies. While still receiving government funding we were subjected to two investigations from a government officer following public complaints in newspapers. These included accusations of running a course on political subversion by a well-known local radical (ironically now the mayor of New Zealand's third largest city) when in fact no topic had been set for his contribution. The second allegation was a 'guerilla-training course' - in fact a non-violent action training course. It is interesting to note that complaints have stopped completely with the ending of government funding.

(iv) Other WEA's throughout New Zealand. Generally more conservative as you go south, other WEA District Councils have always maintained a pressure on Auckland WEA to 'tone down' its programme. Previously it was 'because we will lose our government funding'. Since losing it, it's because 'we won't get our funding back'!

A second price paid (literally) is the loss of all government funding. It is difficult to accurately identify the reasons for the government withdrawing of funding, but I suspect the activities of the Auckland WEA were at least a factor in the decision. To that extent the other WEA's warnings probably have a ring of truth about them.

Thirdly, as the organisation changed its programme there was, for a period of some 12 - 18 months a time where enrolment numbers dropped considerably. A worrying factor at the time, this problem has disappeared with current enrolment numbers being very satisfactory. It takes somewhat of an act of faith and a lot of hard work to persevere until the desired changes in clientele are achieved.

Taking Stock

So where does the Auckland WEA stand at present?

We have undoubtedly clarified our purposes and answered the questions of why should we go through the pain and effort of continuing our independent existence. Along with a clear idea of purpose, we also have a reasonable understanding of who we are and what we do.

Priority areas of womens' studies, adult basic education and Maori and Polynesian programmes are living up to our intent. This success has been largely due, in addition to our usual 'open' courses, to offering resources to the various target groups themselves to plan and organise activities relevant to their current concerns. These 'closed' courses are then 100% sure of attracting the specified groups.*

*This is particularly true of the Maori and Polynesian courses where there had previously been minimal success in attracting these people into 'open' courses.

we have helped develop and promote a number of innovative courses that go some way to increasing the effectiveness of our curricula. These include a feminist-oriented confidence course for women, Feminist Theory courses, Freirean-based Structural Analysis courses, collaborative womens' art projects, lesbian study circles and Playback Theatre. There are more traditional presentations of radical material - public forums on current social issues, series on political philosophy and various radical thinkers and figures in history. There have also been a number of successful workplace-based programmes.

Possibly our most exciting prospect long-term is the planning, now underway, of an adult education residential centre - the Aotearoa Peoples' Education and Research Centre. We have been given long-term access to a 10 acre lot of native bush on the outskirts of Auckland overlooking the Manukau Harbour on which there is a half-finished building. From various grants we now have enough finance to complete by late 1985 accommodation for 25 - 30 people. While we will continue to run our usual programme in town, increasing emphasis will be given to developing specific residential courses for this site. Such a development is the first of its type in New Zealand.

On the other hand, we are still clearly weak in the area of worker education, though this deficiency is not a reflection of the amount of effort expended in this area. Reasons for this failing probably lie in the mistrust of the WEA by the labour movement historically and, more probably, the fact that there is no current social movement among workers in New Zealand that is comparable to the feminist or the Maori Kotahitangi movements.

While adult education is not necessarily always dependent upon the vigour of a group's current level of social and political activity, there is no doubt that a vibrant social movement generates considerable motivation for participation more readily than is otherwise the case.

We are also in need of more research to further clarify the understanding of our organisation. Priorities from my viewpoint include -

i. a clientele study

ii. an ethnographic, longitudinal study of the effects of participation on student's lives (something I feel we know pathetically little about) and

iii. an exploratory study of education generally, and adult education in particular, from the viewpoint of blue collar workers.

Finally, a word about funding. While it is true that the loss of government funding has undeniably lead to greater freedom in pursuing our goals without Big Brother peering over our shoulders, it has also brought problems. Because we are now dependent on voluntary input there are very real limits on our time and energy. We have managed to surmount these difficulties to some extent by using government unemployment schemes, but they do require careful planning and surveillance. On the other hand, we have been able to change our direction much more quickly than would have been possible otherwise, we have shed a number of freeloaders and above all, it has helped us focus much more clearly on the purpose in hand.

In writing this brief paper it has been difficult to describe adequately the changes that have occurred over the past three years. Inevitably parts have been sketchy, other parts neglected completely. Nonetheless, I hope that the outline presented here gives at least some indication of what has occurred, and more importantly, how these changes have been brought about.

While it is true that the degree of movement towards our ideals thus far is both satisfying and rewarding, it is also true that, as we have moved towards these goals we have also uncovered new areas of concern which we will need to confront increasingly in the future. Education, is, as the philosopher R.S. Peters has pointed out, after all a journey where the destination is never finally reached - no matter how much you tack into the wind.

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Appendix 1

Selection of courses offered in 1983

Political Postermaking
Speaking effectively in public and on the job
Workers' Guide to tax returns
History of New Zealand
Sexuality : Fat : Self-Belief
The Kiwi Male
Income Co-ops
Housing Co-ops
Women and the Law
Basic Women's Studies
Creative Prose Writing for Women
Women and Unemployment/Redundancy
Incest and Child Abuse
Marxism
The Emergency Pacific
Organic Gardening
Body Image and Sexuality for Lesbians
Maori Language
Feminist Ritual
Stop Rape!

TOCQUEVILLE, PARTICIPATION & WORKPLACE DEMOCRACY AS AN EDUCATIVE FORCE*

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Some of the most acute observations on the American scene come from foreign visitors. Thus, it is not surprising that we are learning a great deal at this conference from our colleagues from Italy, Ulster, Canada, New Zealand, Norway and Sweden. We all come together at a point in time that represents a turning point in American society. Our colleagues from abroad are observing an election process in the U.S. that may decide whether our society moves beyond the rather primitive beginnings of the welfare state (primitive when it is compared to advanced West European societies) towards a more democratic, participative society or towards greater concentration of corporate power rationalized by rhetoric about rugged individualism, the entrepreneurial ethic and the free market.

During the seed time of our young republic, we were extremely fortunate in having a young Frenchman visit our country. Next year will mark the 150th anniversary of the publication of the 2nd volume of his encounter with Jacksonian America. Of course, I am referring to Democracy in America by Alexis de Tocqueville.

Although Tocqueville's intellectual roots were in the conservative values of Europe's aristocratic elites, he was open to the new culture and values of the American experience. He was captivated by an American people absorbed in self-government and the rough-and-tumble of grass roots politics. Taken by the spirited participation and vitality of town meeting democracy, he saw its wellspring in the proliferation of community associations. This led him to believe that the strength of American democracy lay in its decentralized, community-based, direct forms of citizen participation.

*Edited draft of transcript of presentation at International Consortium of Socially Concerned Adult Educators--June 12, 1984 -- Continuing Education Center, Rutgers University

At the same time, Tocqueville warned of a serpent he found in the garden of democracy: the potential for the corruption of individualism. He defined the recently coined idea of individualism as "a calm and considered feeling which disposes each citizen to isolate himself from the mass of his fellows and withdraw into the circle of family and friends".[1] While observing that, so far, Americans have used liberty to successfully balance individualism, he believed that individualism, unlike egoism which is found in all societies, is peculiar to the democratic condition and threatens to grow. Its effect is to encourage a tendency for people in political democracies to retreat from community concerns to privatization. This decline in concern for others and the larger community, he saw as following from the growing affluence of sections of the population. In an insight that sounds startling like a number of recent commentaries on the current mood and behavior in the body politic, he states,

> "more and more people who though neither rich nor powerful enough to have much hold over others, have gained enough wealth and understanding to look after their own needs...they owe no man anything and hardly expect anything from anybody. They form the habit of thinking of themselves in isolation and imagine that their whole destiny is in their hands...each man is forever thrown back on himself alone, and there is the danger that he may be shut up in the solitude of his own heart." 2

Although Tocqueville contended that the free institutions, grass roots associations and liberty of America in the 1830s had won in countering the corruption of individualism, he nevertheless warned about the future, for despotism depends on the atomised, isolated individual. As Tocqueville put it--"Despotism, by its very nature suspicious, sees the isolation of men as the best guarantee of its own permanance. So it usually does all it can to isolate them."3

1. Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy In America, Ed. J.P. Mayer, Anchor books, N.Y. 1969, p. 506
2. Ibid., p. 508
3. Ibid., p. 509

In our era he would understand why modern despotisms of all ideologies first seek to destroy independent labor unions, dissenting political organizations and voluntary associations.

Now, juxtaposing Tocqueville's insights into the dilemmas of American democracy in the pre-industrial era against the problem of participation in the most advanced stages of the industrial era, some might say the post-industrial era, may seem far fetched. Isn't it irrelevant to compare an acute observer's comments on life in pre-industrial rural communities and the western frontier wilderness with the silicon valley cultures of today? In my opinion, the answer is no, because his concern with the potential dangers for democratic institutions found in the selfish forms of American rugged individualism squarely addresses a central problem in our society today that we, as adult educators, must understand and with which we must cope.

We have just had a very important primary election in New Jersey--one that might decide the future of the Democratic Party, and one that took place in the context of a national campaign that will decide the political and social character of our country for years to come. Despite the obvious importance of the primary, the turnout was only 27%. When such a low participation rate is added to the declining rate of participation in national elections, we have cause to worry about democratic values and institutions. Is this decline in participation related to Tocqueville's concern with the corruption of individualism? Tocqueville spoke of this problem with his fear that individualism in American would discourage concern with the larger community. Our political leadership today exacerbates the problem by providing a rationale for being uncaring and selfish in one's social views and commitments.

Tocqueville would have had his concerns reinforced if he had an opportunity to meet the new middle class male described in a recent N.Y. Times magazine article by Barbara Ehrenreich. From this feminist perspective, the typical male today is unwilling to make a long term commitment to others, not even a commitment to the development of a family. If one's social horizon does not even encompass the boundaries of the family, how can there be a commitment to the public household?

The new man described by Ehrenreich is egotistically caught up in his physical appearance and stylishness. Perhaps this is part of the appeal of style and personality in the current political campaigns rather than substance and social commitment. Tocqueville, of course, would see his worst fears confirmed on the video tube. The new male's obsession with exercising rather than a sense of calling would have dismayed Tocqueville. "Get on the fast track," proclaims the ads for the stairmaster. Pressure to move up in corporate bureaucracies becomes the central reason for being. Increasingly, our work doesn't connect us with social concerns but alienates us from a sense of community obligations. A spirit of social Darwinism has once again been let loose in the land and our leaders soothe our consciences with the "politics of joy" that only competitive market forces and materialistic values can provide.

When adult educators consider the problem of participation, the qualitative as well as the quantitative dimension must be analyzed. Long before the generalists-letter-writing debate, democratic models based on mass participation have been faulted on several levels. A central concern is the potential for mass participation to become transformed into mass manipulation. Liberals and those on the democratic left look with great consternation at the way Madison Avenue techniques are being used to obscure the issues in the current political campaign. Still, we must be careful not to exaggerate and to carefully distinguish participation in a political democracy, no matter how flawed by mass media manipulation, with the compulsory mobilization of opinion by totalitarian states on the right and left.

At this point, let's shift gears and get to the task of trying to relate Tocqueville's concern with the impact of individualism on participation and community values to the world of work and workplace participation. Let me begin by calling attention to the importance in adult socialization of the places where adults work and the labor organizations that workers create to protect and further their interests. Adult educators sometimes make the error of neglecting the educative effect of these communities of the world of work which distill a great deal of the adult workers experience.

If Tocqueville had observed the early stirrings of unionism in America's growing cities, he would, in all probability, have specifically mentioned them as a countervailing force to the selfish form of individualism he warned against.

These organizations of workers stressed the social values of solidarity, mutual aid and fought to remove competition and the laws of the market from from the buying and selling of labor power. These values remain as basic to the tradition of unionism.

Richard Reeves, in retracing Tocqueville's 19th century journey in the America of the 1970s, wrote: "Labor unionism-the association of employees in an industry or company-had risen as a democratic reaction to the "manufacturing aristocracy that Tocqueville saw as "one of the hardest that have appeared on the earth... The (labor) movement even at its peak, was never at peace with American individualism. Certainly nothing in the nation's history ever indicated that Americans were really comfortable twiht one of the tenets of unionism: economic quality."

Many union workers first learn the lessons of citizenship and leadership through participating in the political activities of their union. While Tocqueville did not examine the political role of the early labor unions and workingmen's parties, he recognized that one of the healthiest aspects of American democracy was that it offered citizens a process of political education. By fighting for legislative reforms, Americans were educating themselves in self-governance and were resisting the development of centralized, all-powerful governmentsl bureaucracies.

For those who share Tocqueville's concerns about the dangers to democracy, the current severe weakening of the labor movement in the United States is dangerous. Declining enrollments and participation in labor unions diminishes their role as countervailing forces to the startling growth of the power of centralized bureaucracies and global corporations. The current hemorrhaging of labor's strength takes place in a social climate where the individualistic ethic is encouraged by our political leadership and the hedonism of the media. "Me-ism," with its narcissistic focus on the self rather than on obligation to others, is the reigning social ethic. Is democracy trying to prove Tocqueville right in his harsh comment that he was "sure democracy turns man's imagination away from externals to concentrate it on himself alone..."?

A glaring contemporary example of this phenomenon can be found the high technology "communities" of silicon valley.

We are beginning to get sociological studies which provide an indictment of the high technology corporate life styles. In Silicon Valley, where careerism is an obsession, the extreme competitive atmosphere pits each individual against everyone. The result, unsurprisingly, is a high degree of anxiety, a high degree of stress and little social involvement or commitment. Even philanthropy, which, in my opinion is not a very high form of social involvement, is hardly given lip service by the inhabitants of silicon valley.

Through collective action in the workplace, workers tended to learn as we suggested, a different set of values from those of the competitive struggles in our silicon valleys. The values of cooperation, team work and mutual aid, they learned, represented in effect a counter-culture to the individualistic and competitive values of the social darvinist marketplace. At the same time, unfortunately, other educative forces were operating in the workplace that were not as desirable. We have to raise the question, what do workers learn when they are compelled to work for eight or more hours a day in authoritarian settings where they are simply order-takers. What values and habits are being learned at jobs where all skill and discretion by the worker is removed? What is learned at jobs that are highly routinized, boring and where workers are not involved in any decisions about the work process, let alone the products being made?

Tocqueville in a chapter titled "How An Aristocracy May Be Created By Industry" poses the questions:

> "What is one to expect from a man who has spent twenty years of his life making heads for pins? And how can he employ that mighty human intelligence which has so often stirred the world except in finding out the best way of making heads for pins?" Tocqueville concludes that as "the principle of the division of labor is ever more completely applied, the workman becomes weaker, more limited and more dependent."[1]

1. Ibid., 556

He warns of the trend that

> "at the same time that industrial science constantly lowers the standing of the working class, it raises that of its masters. While the workman confines his intelligence more and more to studying one single detail, the master embraces a vast field in his vision, and his mind expends as the other contracts... So there is no resemblance between master and workman and daily they become more differenc...One is in a state of constant, narrow and necessary dependence on the other and seems to have been born to obey, as the other was to command. What is this, if not an aristocracy?...It would thus appear, tracing things back to their source, that a natural impulse is throwing up an aristocracy out of the bosom of democracy."[1]

These questions, which must be the concerns of adult educators, have been raised by some social scientists in recent research that suggests a relationship between workplace democracy and political participation. For example, Carole Pateman, the well-known political scientist, suggested in 1970 that restructuring the workplace along democratic participatory lines should result in greater participatory behavior beyond the workplace. Tocqueville, who pointed to the face-to-face governance in the early Republic, as expressed in the town meeting, general assemblies, and the rich associational life of the community, as an important educative force, would probably agree with Pateman's hypothesis.

While we lack sufficient empirical support for the hypothesis of such relationship between a democratized workplace and greater political participation, the longitudinal study by Robert Karasek of work and political leisure activity with large groups of Swedish workers in 1968 and 1974 lends support for such a linkage. Karasek concluded that workers who were not involved in decisions at their job site and were extremely passive at work and those involved in socially isolating work also tended to be passive in their leisure life and less involved in community affairs, their union and political life. Martin Meisner, who did similar research on lumber workers in the northwest, concluded that when work is socially isolating, workers reduce their exposure to social situations where they talk and tend to spend less time in organized, purposeful and directed activities. Instead, they tend to spend more time on individualistic types of activities such as fishing on weekends, painting the house, or working on the lawn.

1. Ibid., pp556-57

J. Maxwell Elden, another political scientist concerned with the spillover effect of alienating work, called on political scientists to rectify the paucity of empirical studies on the relationships suggested by Pateman's hypothesis. His own research tends to support Pateman, for he found in his study of an automated factory that workers who were involved in workplace decisions were more likely to become involved in political decisions.

Given this growing body of research, it is worrisome to observe some of the new technologies emerging on the factory floor and proliferating through modern offices. While they are touted as promising a cornucopia of leisure riches, their negative effects are becoming more visible: workers are increasingly isolated from each in their work in front of VDTs and microcomputers; the jobs of many workers such as machinists are being deskilled; the workforce is becoming increasingly polarized between the highly educated technical elite and the unskilled. Adult educators must understand the implications of these new forms of work and technology for participation and democratic values.

There is a certain schizophrenic quality to labor-management relations today. On the one hand, we see notorious examples of actions that tear asunder the social contract that undergirded the accomodative, yet adversarial, relationship of labor and management after World War II. The management offensive to contain the growth of unions and the tilt of the NLRB and the legal system against unions, are reflections of this ne conflictful period. On the other hand, there are scores of initiatives by corporations to involve workers in problem solving on the job and tap their ingenuity and creativeness in order to improve productivity, product quality and overcome job dissatisfaction. While some of these initiativ are seen as stemming from the employer objective of maintaining "a union free environment," a number of unionized employers are working jointly with unions in trying to make such worker involvement programs effective.

And so today we are inundated with a proliferation of programs that speak about worker participation. There are almost 67 varieties, at least in terms of nomenclature, namely: Quality of Work Life, Q.C. Circles, Employee Involvement, Labor-Management Committees, E.S.O.P.s,Co-determination, etc.

Since there is much confusion over the diversity of worker participation concepts, it is necessary to sketch out a simple framework that will clarify the various models of work reform. Each of these models can be defined along three continuums of worker influence and involvement: 1. the degree of participation, (e.g., from consultation at the minimal end of the continuum to full worker control over workplace decisions at the other end); 2. the scope of participation, (e.g., from suggestions and problem solving on improving the work process to parity involvement in long term strategic planning and decisions); 3. the organizational level of decision making, (from the job site to the board level and industry level).*

Obviously, one of the important prerequisites for the success of any program of work reform that is a step toward genuine workplace democratization is the effective education and training of the worker-participators. In most countries where various models of work reform are introduced they have been accompanied by a proliferation of training programs. Thus, workplace democratization has great potential for the expansion of labor education and it offers new roles for adult educators committed to the values of expanding and improving the quality of democratic life.

To begin with, all worker participation reforms if they are to have meaning must provide access to full information and disclosure from employers on all workplace issues to be decided. Without access to comprehensive information and knowledge of how to interpret and use it, worker participation can be easily manipulated by the "experts." Traditionally, management's control over the distribution of information and its monopoly over enterprise knowledge has enabled it to maintain a hierarchical and authoritarian system of control. Once gains are made in accessing information, the challenge to educators becomes one of assisting workers and their representatives in assessing, processing, disseminating and applying the information.

Another pressing educational need is the training of thousands of quality of worklife facilitators and circle leaders and participants in a broad range of areas from problem solving skills to group dynamics and effective communications.

*At this point in the presentation some time was spent on defining the various models using this framework.

A third area of education for participation deals with the health and safety of the working environment. With the weakened enforcement of occupational health and safety legislation, it is even more imperative to adequately train the growing army of union health and safety committees. Plant committees should be preapred to become increasingly involved in the larger questions of ergonomics and the restructuring of the workplace to reduce stress and promote mental health.

A fourth area involves new technology. The scope and pace of the introduction of revolutionary new technologies requires worker understanding of their character and social implications. Workers and engineers need to be brought together to study the choices involved in technology investments. Workers need to be involved in the planned introduction of technology through workplace technology committees prepared to monitor problems and explore alternative choices.

The closing of plants and the transfer of capital to any area of the world that offers the cheapest terms are forcing labor unions to explore ways of influencing capital formation, worker ownership and investment decisions. As unions begin to become involved in strategic decisions in companies at the highest policy levels, many complex educational needs must be met. Workers and their representatives need to understand and challenge corporation financial reports, question management proposals, use organizational analysis tools, etc.

If the first steps toward employee involvement in workplace decisions are meaningful, a process will be initiated that assumes a life of its own and should lead to demands for further involvement and democratization. No longer will the workplace be divided into order givers and order takers. If the process is authentic, it is at the same time a continuing educational process that labor-adult educators have an important role in. Educators are called upon to help workers learn the skills needed to improve the quality of their working life through involvement.

Educators seeking to make a contribution in this area have much to learn as well. Not only do they need to appreciate the strengths and values of working class culture, they also need to examine their own values, prejudices and priorities. They need to appreciate the value of the worker's experiential knowledge and how to assist workers in defining, conceptualizing and analyzing the problems that arise out of the work experience. Through their interaction in workplace and classroom, both groups become collaborators in empowerment that will expand and enrich the democratic process.

Citizen Groups: Their Significance for Adult Education

by

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Background

The 1980's have been remarkable for a nationwide mosaic of citizen study and action groups. These groups have been spawned by initiatives to establish hazardous waste disposal sites; or by proposals to build or widen highways, nuclear power plants, and high voltage power lines; or by efforts to convert recreational land to commercial use, to construct houses and shopping centers on prime farm land; or by foreclosures on family-owned farms; or out of concerns about crime, housing, and public service.

The participants in these groups are not poor and disenfranchised. They are a cross section of middle class America: retired people, young couples with families, small business owners, teachers, farmers, and housewives. Normally anonymous and not involved, they find it disconcerting to be in the public spotlight. It is quite possible that corportations and government agencies perceive most citizens as trusting, uninformed, and relatively powerless and assume they will be docile and certainly amateurish when confronted with complex issues.

Citizens have banded together to accomplish goals throughout our history. The abolitionist movement, women's suffrage and civil rights are examples. Yet citizen study and action groups in the 1980's seem to be unique. First, because there are many of them. A little digging will turn up a dozen, in any state. Where there is one, more can be found because they support each other, they write to each other, they exchange newsletters, and band together around a particular phenomenon. So there are incinerator groups, landfill groups, highway groups, noise groups and so on. Second, what is unique is that they are tackling complex subjects--subject matter that is academically respectable such as health, law, geology, hydro-geology, and political science. They collect, read,

and digest an amazing amount of scientific data. They write position papers and document their positions. They communicate with universities and government agencies to obtain information. They conduct research, formulate plans of action, argue and debate, and weigh the pros and cons of approaching their problem from various angles. Then they carry out their plans and revise them as needed. A third distin- guishing characterisitc is that such groups are at best treated with indifference and sometimes distain by government agencies and officials. From corporation spokesmen the treatment has been worse, ranging from ridicule to threats of economic retaliation. And fourth, unlike much citizen activity that relies on public pressure tactics, these groups rely on education. Education first of themselves through independent research and then education of their communities.

By ignoring these "mavericks" and opting only to teach courses and award certificates and diplomas, the adult education community may be missing a marvelous opportunity to express social commitment and provide intellectual leadership within the maelstrom of democracy. Citizen groups represent an opportunity to function as true educators; to raise tough questions, to probe for the reasons behind positions taken and ask that all opinions give an accounting of the facts upon which they are based, to challenge error, half-truths, prejudice, and ill-founded conclusions. Assistance to such groups may provide adult educators with an opportunity to effect social change and empower citizens for political self-governance and active social and civic responsibility.

The goal of this presentation is to consider the question of whether adult educators and their institutional resources should assist citizen study and action groups? What criteria could be used to determine whether to lend assistance? And second, if assistance were to

be offered, what forms might it take?

Two generalizations can be made about contemporary adult and continuing education. First, it has adopted an essentially apolitical stance. Stewart (8) says that judging from the literature and from presentations and discussions at meetings, an apolitical myth is alive and well among members of the profession. There is a commonly held abhorrence for anything controversial. Second, its purposes are defined largely in terms of meeting the educational needs of individuals. Meeting needs has taken on slogan proportions according to Monette (6). McMahon (3) says that historically, the focus of adult education was on the individual and his needs. "Whether the goal of the adult education was remedial, liberal, vocational, recreational, or political, the focus was on the individual" (3:3). There is no reason to believe that this has changed.

Yet there is a rich social and community improvement theme in the literature as well. Miller (5), McMahon (3), and more recently Apps (1) are proponents of its legitimacy. Miller advocates that adult educators develop strategies for working with people in neighborhood and community organizations to which they already have ties. Not primarily to identify individual learning needs, but because such organizations represent "deliberate attempts to develop political consciousness within a community-based organization effort...." (5:16). It is in such organizations, Miller says, that the greatest potential for adult education lies.

McMahon (3) chastises adult educators for their excessive concern for "objectivity" at the expense of the social action which may be necessary to solve a problem. Yet he cautions against being carried away by do-good idealism to the point of imposing pre-determined solutions to

dynamic problems. The adult educator's mission is "to provide the information, the understanding, the organizational framework which may make it possible for those people to solve their own problem in a concerted social, political, economic educational thrust" (3:5).

Apps (1) states that a major purpose of adult education is: "To help communities (society) provide a more humane, social, psychological and physical environment for their members" (1:99). He reminds us that one does not change society only by focusing attention on the individuals that make up that society. Adult education should include the purpose of helping communities to correct, or at least respond to problems and shortcomings that prevent human beings from living humane lives.

There is no intent to suggest that educational methods, in a democratic society, will produce unanimity of purpose or consensus on means to attain them. Yet as Schwertman (7) observed 25 years ago, while adult education cannot resolve the problem of purposes, neither can it afford to be left out of or uninvolved in citizens' efforts to resolve the problem of purposes and goals. In fact, adult education can assume as its basis a continuing pattern of changing conflicts and controversies.

The Method

Six Citizen groups in Ohio and Michigan provided the data for this study. The problems which caused the groups to form and their names are:

electrical power plant	Huron Agricultural Reserves Tomorrow (Hart)
toxic waste disposal	Citizens Opposed to Destruction of the Environment (CODE)
incineration of waste disposal	Everyone Concerned About Hazards to Our

	Surroundings (ECHOS)
legislation of waste disposal	Voting Ohioans Initiating Concern for the Environment (VOICE)
land development	Tri-Lakes Riparian Association
toxic waste disposal	Central Ohioans Protecting the Environment (COPE)

The intent in this study was to generate and plausibly suggest several properties and hypotheses about citizen groups and their potential relationships with adult education agencies. The constant comparative method was most suitable for this purpose since it allows for inclusion of several sources of qualitative information.

Data sources

First, citizen group leaders were interviewed. Three to four persons in each of the six groups explained its origins, membership, activities, successes and failures. Many persons were interviewed more than once. Each group was organized into committees. The chairperson for the education or science committee or its equivalent was always interviewed.

Second, there was someone in every group who collected clippings from newspapers that chronicled the public story. While not so rich in behind-the-scenes detail and anecdotes these "scrapbooks" presented the perspectives of the corporation, state government agencies, elected officials, newspaper editors, and the general public in letters-to-the editors. The scrapbook also made it possible to reconstruct a chronology of events and document official decisions. In addition, newspapers often include maps, charts, and graphs to pictorially present the disputed

phenomenon to their readers. Finally, the scrapbooks invariably contained clippings of stories about events and decisions on the national scene that had relevance to the local issue.

Third, citizen groups must devise a form of communication to their members and the public-at-large. This was done in the form of newsletters, public posters, and in one case, a regular column in a daily newspaper. Through such media the group announces its meetings, solicits support, raises public awareness, "exposes" its opponents plans, motives, and reputation, and promotes its position.

A fourth data source was the educational materials developed by citizen groups for distribution at public meetings, county fairs, malls, and other sites when access to the public was possible. These materials took several forms; (a) sophisticated position papers on the problem, e.g., "What's wrong with 'secure' landfills?," complete with references to scientific documents and detailed drawings; (b) one page handouts posing several disturbing questions, e.g., "How can we be sure that the toxic waste containers are safe?," (c) slide-tape presentations; (d) fact sheets disputing the companies claims of safety or scientific certainty. These educational materials were probably the best evidence of the extensive effort of citizen groups to educate themselves and the general public.

Fifth, the sense of urgency and threat to basic values citizen group members feel can be experienced and appreciated by standing on a back porch from which a proposed land-fill site is clearly visible, or seeing corn growing in fields included in an architect's blueprint for a coal-fired electrical power plant or smelling pungent odors from a paint factory, or hearing the whine of trucks heavily laden with toxic waste lumbering along well traveled roadways.

A sixth data source is the minutes of citizen groups meetings in which plans are made, alternatives discussed, fears expressed, frustrations aired, and strategies developed. From such minutes a group's needs for skills in planning, problem-solving and decision-making can be inferred.

Constant comparative method

According to Glaser (1) the constant comparative method for analyzing qualitative data has four elements.

1. Category formation. The researcher collects data and looks for key issues, recurrent events, or activities in the data that become categories of focus. A defining rule is: while coding an incident for a category, compare it with the previous incidents coded in the same category. "This constant comparison of the incidents very soon starts to generate theoretical properties of the category. One starts thinking in terms of the full range of types or continua of the category, its dimensions, the conditions under which it is pronounced or minimized, its major consequences, the relation of the categories to other categories, and other properties of the category" (1:221).

2. Integrating categories. As attributes of a category are accumulated, for example, the several ways in which citizen groups originate, through constant comparison, these diverse attributes or properties start to become integrated. That is, they are related in many diverse ways, resulting in a unified whole. This same integration occurs between categories of analysis. The researcher begins to develop theory as different categories and their properties tend to become integrated through constant comparisons. This forces the analyst to make some theoretical sense of each comparision. For example, a science and education

committee seems to be among the first formed as groups organize. Its work gives the group focus and legitimacy.

3. Delimiting the theory. As one continues to account for the diversity of incidents within categories, the theory begins to solidify. That is, major modifications become fewer and fewer as one compares the next incidents of a category to properties of it. Reduction or delimiting of terminology and text occurs as the researcher discovers underlying commonalities and is able to express these in a higher level but smaller set of concepts. "The analyst starts to achieve two foremost requirements of theory: (1) parsimony of variables and formulation and (2) scope in the applicability of theory to a wide range of situations, while keeping a close correspondence of the theory to the data" (1:223). An example is that in attempting to educate the general public citizen groups employ similar methods. These methods have a long history in adult education. At some point the means employed to educate the public and problems encountered in doing so become repetitious. This category then has become theoretically saturated. The universe of data used in the constant comparative method is based on the reduction of the theory and the delimitation and saturation of categories.

4. Writing theory. The analyst works with the data to discover basic processes and relationships. At the end of the process he/she has coded data, written a rich description (memos) of the situation, and developed theory. The memos provide the content behind the categories which are the major themes of the theory. Theory emerges from data collection and analysis that occurs in a pulsating fashion. First there are interviews, then the analysis and theory development. Then documents are reviewed followed by another interview. Then more analysis followed by observation and so on--until the research is complete.

Categories of Citizen Group Activity

Citizen group activity seems to occur in sequential stages. The stages, however, overlap and at times almost become indistinguishable. A compressed time frame and indeed a frantic pace often characterizes the activities in each stage. Following is a title of each stage and description of the activities that occurred within it.

1. Arousal. This is characterized by a sudden awareness on the part of a few observant individuals in the community that some decision is imminent which will threaten the health, livelihood, property, or some other cherished value of the community. This awareness is followed by a call to meet and pool information. There is an attempt to find out the facts. Sometimes this fact-finding is done surreptitiously. The information gathered is usually incomplete because it is done rapidly and not all parties to the situation will necessarily contribute what they know. Some information is probably withheld or inexcessible. However, the dominant mood is one of fear, urgency, and eventually anger. The result is expressed in statements such as "How dare they think they can do that to us and expect us to take it laying down." The perpetrators of the problem may inadvertently contribute to citizen resolve by condescending, bumbling, heavy-handed behavior.

2. Protest. This takes the form of phone calls and personal visits to local public officials and to state agencies to express opposition, disapproval, and/or demand for protection. The response is generally either one of "I don't know," "the facts aren't in yet," or "there has been no official position taken or response which I can share with you." The result then of protest is most likely to be a combination

of frustration and anxiety over the fact that this is not going to be something easily turned around, increased anger and passion that their worst fears are indeed being realized, and emergence of local unofficial leadership within the community. Sophisticated companies host public meetings to present their proposal and respond to questions. They hope to defuse opposition and win public support or at least indifference to their plans.

3. Organization and self-education. This is the longest and most arduous stage of activity. It is apparent that organization is critical. Officers or trustees are elected. A constitution and by-laws are drafted and approved. Committees such as science and education, speakers bureau, letter writing, fund raising, petitions, and government are formed. An attorney may be contacted to help the group incorporate, set up bank accounts, and plan legal strategy.

Resources--human, printed, and monetary are critical to the committees. Specialists who have knowledge of some aspect of the problem are recruited or come forward to offer their services and perhaps those of their agencies. People in other citizen groups are identified and called for help. Publications on citizen response to environmental hazards are obtained. Relevant scientific literature is found and studied. Research is conducted on the approval process which the corporation is required by law to follow, the relevant government agencies and the appeal process. Funds are raised through membership dues, donations, bake sales, rummage sales and the like.

4. Community education. Close upon the heels of self-education is the campaign to win over and educate the community. The group begins with a tremendous handicap. The corporation has spent money and time to present a slick proposal to the community, complete with charts, graphs,

maps and a rationale stressing jobs, progress and development that will accompany its implementation. Those who would oppose are put in the position of being alarmists, radicals, ingrates, and troublemakers. They are made to feel ridiculous, isolated and stupid.

Fortified by its self-study process citizen groups hold public meetings to educate their fellow citizens. They go from town to town in the surrounding community and from group to group, getting on the agenda for every meeting they can find to present the case for opposition to the corporation's plans. They take their educational program complete with slides, handouts and charts to schools, service clubs, township trustees, county commissioners, unions, women's clubs and so on. They set up information booths at fairs, in malls, on the street to pass out literature and present their case to the community. They stage events such as balloon launchings, rallies, marches and bonfires to dramatize the issue and raise public awareness. Concurrent with these activities groups wage letter-writing campaigns, deluging public officials, government agencies, and local newspapers expressing their position.

Throughout the processes of self and community education accuracy of facts and conclusions is important for the group's credibility. Documentation of every argument is essential. If possible the group limits itself strictly to the arguments and data presented by the corporation.

Skull sessions are held to rehearse and critique the style and sub- stance of each others presentations. Some play the devils advocate by anticipating arguments and objections.

Concurrent with its program of community education the citizen group carefully monitors the actions of public agencies having jurisdiction over the issue in dispute. In stage three learning was

predominantly scientific and technical. In this stage there is an emphasis on learning about the system, about how decisions are made, and when and where pressure can be applied. There may be considerable debate over the proper balance of education, demonstration, and confrontation.

It is in this stage that the group is most vulnerable to discouragement and declining participation. Uncounted hours have been devoted to the cause. The rest of life is overshadowed. As one woman said, "why have Christmas when next year your town may sit on the edge of a toxic waste dump." Personal and professional sacrifices are made. Friendships and even marriages buckle under the strain. Learning to handle stress and conflict is essential.

5. Resolution. In this stage either the issue is resolved or a stalemate prevails. In either case many participants end their involvement. A small core of people, however, broaden their activities to work on other community issues. Some stand for election to city council, school board, township trustees, some become active in national organizations concerned with toxic waste or other issues. Some continue to work in the broad arena of environmental legislation. In any case, they are forever changed. In Mezirow's terms (4) their perspective has been transformed. They are less trusting of public officials. They are more appreciative of the natural resources they enjoy. They are skilled now at looking beneath the surface of things. They have grown in confidence, having accomplished things they never imagined possible. They have given speeches, written letters, gathered petitions, talked to people door-to-door, and raised money. They are in a position to put those skills to use on other community needs and problems.

Implications

A theme heard throughout this conference, sometimes below the

surface and sometimes overtly, is that of advocacy. Several presentations have characterized the adult educator as a change agent, an advocate on behalf of the powerless or less fortunate. The question of an appropriate relationship between adult educators and their citizen groups repeats the theme once again.

In the context of this conference social intervention is obviously valued. Some cautions and some criteria to apply before deciding on the forms advocacy on behalf of citizen groups could take seem to be in order.

First the cautions. We are first and foremost educators, usually in the employ of an institution. In the case of citizen groups, at least, emotions are high, time is short, and controversy is rampant. The educative process, on the other hand, is usually slow and methodical, tolerated by most as a means to an end, hardly the stuff of which drama is made.

Gathering and assimilating information, testing and weighing its utility, and documenting its reliability is arduous. Assisting the collaborative learning effort of a citizen group need not imply that the educator has pre-judged the situation and advocates a specific solution. There will be many points of view regarding any one problem. At the very least, it is recommended here, that adult educators be advocates of objective and thorough investigation concerning the issues that have exercised a citizen group. The adult education agency should be seen as a legitimate forum, a community resource, where reason prevails, data are assembled, alternatives considered, and meetings and educational programs are planned and offered. The alternative is for the agencies of adult education to be absent from the struggles that affect people's lives.

The latter course of action is what unfortunately prevailed with all six of the citizen groups listed above.

What criteria can adult educators use to determine whether to risk relationship with a citizen group? Six criteria are suggested by the experiences of the groups that serve as the basis for this presentation.

Before committing an agency and its resources to assist a group in any of the above-mentioned ways an adult educator needs to determine whether:

1. The issue that has galvanized the citizen groups attention has significant implications for a broad spectrum of people in the community.
2. The citizen group has credible leaders with whom to work and reach decisions.
3. The leadership and others intimately involved are open to someone questioning their purposes and strategies; and furthermore are interested in expanding their understanding of larger problems to which theirs is related.
4. The group is disposed to employ educational methods to accomplish its goals preferably prior to but at least concomitant with lobbying and public pressure tactics.
5. The citizen group accepts and cherishes the position of the adult education agency as a neutral forum to assist and promote learning necessary for making intelligent choices.
6. Some recovery of costs for services is possible.

But let there be no delusion that these criteria eliminate risk for

adult education agencies and personnel. The risk is taken out of conviction that linkages with community groups are important, that the most valuable learning happens in connection with matters of consequence, that educators have skills and influence which should be brought to bear on community problems.

The specific forms of assistance adult educators could have provided the citizen groups in this study and probably many others are:

1. Facilities and equipment necessary for planning meetings and conducting educational programs.
2. Space to store, organize, and make available the myriad of documents, reports, articles, newsletters, and other references consulted.
3. Technical assistance in planning meetings and programs, in designing promotional literature, in developing audio-visual and printed materials, in using A-V equipment and perhaps a teleconference with groups confronting similar problems.
4. Publicity for meetings and programs in flyers, brochures and catalogues that promote the general adult education program.
5. Advice on financial matters such as writing proposals for grants, projecting income and expenses, and general accounting problems.
6. Information about and exposure to resources that can broaden sensitivity to larger socio-political issues and enrich the group's knowledge and insights. Such resources include:
   - 6.1 Domestic Policy Association's national issues forum.

6.2 Public Agenda Foundation whose purpose is to find and test new ways to present complex public issues so that citizens can understand, debate, and come to informed judgments.

6.3 Kettering Review which is devoted to citizen education on public issues.

6.4 Citizens Clearinghouse on Hazardous Waste.

7. Encouragement to citizen group members and the general community to take initiative and responsibility for learning about matters affecting their lives.

Research on the six groups included in this study suggests that the adult education community cannot expect citizen groups to knock on our doors first. They are not even aware that the door is there. It will take no special effort to avoid such groups. It is also unlikely that anyone will fault us for doing so. We are the only ones who know that our mission, our philosophy, our skills and services are quite compatible with their needs.

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DEVELOPMENT: A CAUSE FOR COMMITMENT?

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DEVELOPMENT: A CAUSE FOR COMMITMENT?

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FORWARD

Can any policy lessons be learned from the failure of international development efforts to improve the living conditions for poor communities around the world? This short and informal presentation addresses this question. Underlying the call of this conference to rekindle our social commitment and to identify solutions to the declining social sensitivity is the assumption that there was in the past a greater sense of commitment. What were the ideals we were presented to? Were our policies and programs geared to the benefit of the few? Or were we really committed to the task of making sure that the poor and the underprivileged got a fair share of growth? Answers to these questions about our past will illuminate the path the organization, that we are here to form during this conference, will seek to address. In order to analyze and understand our past practices of social commitment, I have chosen the field of development for three main reasons:

1 Development is increasingly being used as the rationale for social commitment, particularly in the international context.

2 More than ever before, adult educators have demonstrated an increased interest in development.

3 The concept of development is a product of the West and has always been applied to the Third World. My initial inquiries inform me that the overwhelming majority of participants in this conference will be from the West. Their compassion and humanitarian concerns for the poor, I concluded, will let their commitment go beyond their national boundaries and into the Third World.

DEVELOPMENT

A review of the literature on development confirms that there are very few concepts so universally desirable, holistic, and laden with positive values as the concept of development. For that rea-

son Todaro (1977) says, "Every nation strives after development; it is an objective most people take for granted". The study of development did not originate from an autonomous progression of social science theories, but instead sprang from the Western preoccupation with the "new nations", a reference to the nations gaining independence from colonial rule. The study gave rise to various theories and models where the inflexibility to the multilateralism of different situations in the Third World was questioned. There are at least four clearly identifiable theories: Modernization, Dependency, Basic Human Needs, and Interdependence.

Modernization

The "Stages of economic growth" theory, proposed by W.W Rostow, was the view that the process of development consisted of a successive series through which all countries must pass. Development was seen synonymous with rapid economic growth. The theory was a boost from Marx and Domar, when they added to it new elements that facilitated fast growth: to grow economies must save and invest a certain proportion of their Gross National Product (GNP). The more a country can save and invest, the faster they grow. Applications of this theory under the Marshall Plan for financial and technical assistance to rebuild the economy of war-torn Europe proved the theory too true to be refuted. Once reconstruction of Europe was completed, attention was focused on development of the Third World. The success in Europe provided a direction to follow - that of continuous to industrialization. Development, like war, was seen as a problem, progress towards the level of development achieved by the advanced countries. Under this model, underdevelopment was seen as certain in the early stages of development, but would improve later (Countries at the poor countries will slowly "catch up").

Besides the answers the idea what can a country want to catch up to development contain value standards and ideals, in the following sixties different views of the earliest writings centered on cultural and psychological trends of development - Lerner: "The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East", D. McClelland, "The Achieving Society", and A. Inkeles & D. Smith: "Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing

Countries". They described the modern personality with qualities of mental flexibility, willingness to take risks, psychic mobility and pragmatism. The modernists adopted this modern conception of how to live and how to work, calling it the demonstration effect.

Dependency

By the second "development decade, many Third World nations had reached the growth levels set by the United Nations, but the standard of living of the masses, for the most part, remained unchanged. Why? Because, explain the dependency theorists, at both the national and international levels, those nations and peoples at the center exploited those at the periphery. As a result of this process today's economy of the Third World is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected (Santos). Poverty and affluence are two sides of the same coin - one does not exist without the other, the dependency theorists hold. In fact, the capitalist West "has so dominated the world that the Third World countries have been effectively thwarted in their efforts to become capable of solving their own economic problems" (Rostgaard). The tools used in this domination included transnational corporations, sale of or grants for armaments, and foreign aid. Expert advisers and consultants from the West offered sophisticated concepts and elegant theoretical structures unsuited to the Third World (Rostgaard). Rahnema's view does not stop further, deliberate attempts to improve the human condition have themselves been a major cause of human misery throughout history. Similarly the concept of catching up must be rejected, argue the dependency theorists. Catching up with what, they ask. Surely the Third World does not need to imitate the life styles of the rich nations. What then is the solution? Rather than "low-income countries must involve themselves from the capitalist West as they first recover the surplus and exploit the rich.

Basic Human Needs

While one response to the failure of modernization to provide solutions for the problems of the past was the dependency theory,

a second was that of meeting basic human needs (BHN). This model's leading advocates include the staff of World Band and International Labor Organization (ILO). What are basic needs? They are the "minimum specific quantitities of such things as food, clothing, shelter, water, and sanitation that are necessary to prevent ill health, undernourishment, and the like" (Streeten). Needs are to be determined not by physiologists, doctors, or other specialists, but by the consumers themselves. The yardsticks used to measure the attainment of basic needs are life expectancy, literacy, food consumption, infant mortality, access to safe water, and housing (Hicks). Poorer nations must meet their needs within the framework of their own cultural values, building development around people rather than people around development. Some issues which have been widely debated include: Does meeting basic needs impede growth? Is basic need a right? Is meeting basic needs an end in itself or a means of making the poor more productive?

Interdependence

Interaction between the thesis, exploitation of the poor, and the antithesis, isolation of the poorer nations, resulted in a synthesis: interdependence. Brandt calls development a life-and-death issues for humanity at large. Streeten provides a rationale for the theory, saying that an efficient world order depends on the coordination of four functions: 1) generation of balance of payments surpluses; 2) existence of financial institutions that are willing to invest their surpluses in developing countries; 3) existence of industries that provide and sell capital goods needed for development; and 4) military power to back up the economic power derived from the previous three functions. Until 1970, these functions have been combined and coordinated in one dominant country. Until 1914 the country was Great Britain. From 1914 until 1970, it was the United States. Since 1970, the functions have been fragmented and dispersed for several reasons, such as the emergence of Oil Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC), Germany, Soviet Union, etc. Now what might be needed is one institution that coordinates the four functions - A New International Economic Order (NIEO).

The modernization model aimed at a particular lifestyle, while dependency tried to remove the veil in which's clothing. Most of the current thinking on planning centres around NIEO and Interdependency models. Although these models are not contradictory but complementary, it is unfortunate that the objectives of NIEO and the proponents of NIEO distrust each other. Both groups are yet to realize that satisfaction of basic human needs is a local-national endeavour whose success depends on international efforts.

REKINDLING COMMITMENT

What is the goal of our commitment to development? Generally today is not lacking interest in development, perhaps there is too much interest in development. In The Is the Third World Poor? Pierre Oneido (1973) quotes an anonymous writer: "Development is invented by those who are trying to conceptualize it. This cluster will not be a farce how to conduct human development, but what is it in reality?" History has proven this not only that it is much easier to 'underrate' and to disregard of the real achievement of development while looking at it as a myth than in reality. Decades of development attempts have only increased the misery of the people. General Emilio Garrastazu Medici, Brazil's president from 1969 to 1974, was once asked by a journalist what he thought of Brazil's "economic miracle", a reference to its fast growth rates of over 10% yearly between 1967 and 1973. "The miracle is good for Brazil's economy, but not for the people", replied Medici. The benefits of Brazil's development is far beyond the reach of the large majority of the people.

Today the debate on development continues to cause people worldwide and is focused on the question: "What model of development is better for a country?" The right question should be this: What do the local people need for development that can be acquired is that which best fulfills, indigenous cultural traditions and belief nations but not necessarily their ought. Material progress have become richer but the lot or standard of a large majority of the poor from those nations has deteriorated beyond imagination. It is indeed sad that those who most deserve benefits more are those who seldom receive it.

I wish people could be free from the psychic paralysis or turmoil which has resulted from internalization of "should" self-images. Such self-images have been destructive of esteem and confidence. The poor cause the rich with their rich customs at home, as well as in the west, feel they unduly use attention to their material lack intelligence, lack morality, lack politeness, and worst lack honesty if only they realized the utter ignorance of the landlords, the commercial officials, and some of the new riches from rich nations in international guise & self-centredness.

I wish people realized that peace is a necessity that we can never paint with violence. Despite the evils of which man is prone, but we can never stop it once. People must learn to overcome material and economic deprivations which block their creativity. In this struggle the conservation of environment, conservation and peace go hand in hand. Peace is not only absence of wars and crisis. But we must add conditions that the international organization that would function in a manner of their maintenance will not bring wars.

Correspondent Tanzania, Tanzania Mwananchi Dodoma, Correspondent, Tanzania, Tanzania Standard Dar es Salaam Correspondent. But that is an answer that requires to have to draft and separate from each perspective of why each is responsible or reasons, and further some time of a short discussion should not be local and and answer. It will have really shown that each and every should be their own right.

PART THREE

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM INFORMAL SEMINAR

SOCIAL COMMITMENT IN PUBLIC CONTINUING EDUCATION:

Driving and Constraining Forces in the Public Delivery System for Adult Education in New York State

A panel presentation given at a conference at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, June 10-14, 1984.

Conference Theme: Rekindling Commitment

Convenors: The International Consortium for Social Commitment in Adult Education

Panel Presenters:

Dr. Jack Ether, Professor of Education, State University of New York; Chairman, Department of Program Development and Evaluation, State University of New York, Albany, New York.

Joseph A. Mangano, Research Associate, Two-Year College Development Center, State University of New York, Albany, New York.

Dr. Eugene Monaco, Director of Public and Community Services, Hudson Valley Community College, Troy, New York.

Jean Napper, Associate Supervisor, Division of Adult and Continuing Education Programs, New York State Education Department, Albany, New York.

Jean Napper, moderator:

The "grass roots" emphasis of this conference has suggested that within the diversity of providers of adult education, there is a "them", representing the mainstream - the public, government-funded system; and an "us" representing the non-traditional providers from the community. There is a sense that these grass roots providers are committed to social justice and equality.

The members of this panel begin our presentation aware that we may be perceived as representing "them". The four panelists represent the various levels of the public delivery system in New York State. These systems serve over one million registrants in public school adult programs and far more than that in institutions of higher education. Our population in the state at large includes four million adults who lack high school diplomas.

We are convinced that what we have to say is important. We believe that the "system" is here to stay. It delivers a major piece of adult education, and so it is important that the issues of this conference challenge that system to a greater commitment to social change from within. We agree with Ettore Gelpi, our keynoter at this conference, that it won't be easy.

Tom Leavitt said yesterday that Northern Ireland had experiences applicable to others. We also feel that New York's experience in adult education has broad applicability, because of the State's unique history as an immigrant state, and because of its role as a cultural and intellectual world center.

Our four presenters will each focus on a different component of the public delivery system. Joseph Mangano, former Bureau Chief of the Division of Continuing Education of the State Education Department, will give us a historical context and will focus on the role of the public schools in the delivery of adult education.

I will play a dual role - both as moderator and speaking to the particular concerns within a state education department.

Dr. Eugene Monaco, Director of Public and Community Services, Hudson Valley Community College, will deal with the community college system, while Dr. Jack Ethner, Chairman, Department of Program Development and Evaluation at the State University of New York, will discuss the role of the universities.

We will all identify both driving and constraining forces in the delivery of adult education in public institutions, hoping to provoke from you suggestions and ideas about what we and others might do to rekindle commitment in public agencies to a greater concern for the learner and society.

In New York State, the concept of rekindling commitment is surfacing in many different settings. It began for us in New York in December of 1983 at a local association meeting at Troy, New York, where the gentlemen on this panel challenged those present on issues of concern. The challenge was put forth again at the state association conference in May by more than one speaker, including Dr. Alan Knox, President of the American Association of Adult and Continuing Education and Professor of Continuing and Vocational Education at the University of Wisconsin, and Dr. Jack Mezirow, Professor of Adult Education at Teachers College of Columbia University. The call to this conference reiterated the theme, suggesting that we may be in the middle of a renewal.

We begin with an historical overview. Joseph Mangano has been a leader in adult education in New York and the United States for over 20 years. He has lived some of this history, made some of it, and been a student of the roots of adult education in the State.

Joseph A. Mangano:

New legislation in New York State has made 1984 into something of a banner year for continuing education in the state. First of all, we have new funding which provides for the first time in the history of New York, state aid for adults on the same basis as aid is given to the public schools for regular daytime children and youth. In addition to this, a bill has been passed which provides for financial aid for students who are attending post secondary institutions part-time. These students are primarily adults.

These new laws represent a momentus breakthrough. They show a new level of commitment to adult students by the state legislature and the governor.

While we might think that commitment is new in the state, an examination of the state's history shows it is just different in focus, not new. I would like to share with you the commitment that New York State has had over the years to educating adults. This commitment dates back 140 years.

In 1840, New York State was the first state in the nation to mandate that it was the responsibility of school districts to provide literacy education for adults. This legislation said nothing about providing state aid. It certainly said nothing about federal aid, which was not in existence. It just said that local boards of education were responsible for providing literacy education for adults who were functionally illiterate, that is, adults without education up to what we normally describe now as an eighth grade education - an elementary education. New York State was in the vanguard of this type of legislation.

Why did New York choose to educate its adult citizenry? At that time, the State needed to have an industrialized economy that could produce goods. In the pre-Civil War era, we needed a literate work force for the beginnings of what was to become an industrialized state. The legislation passed in 1840 was motivated also by the need to provide literacy skills for people who were moving from the farms, from their rural birthplaces, to the work place.

The people we were educating in the 1840's were primarily native born. They were primarily Caucasian. They were primarily English speaking. There were very few who were non-English speaking. There were very few Blacks involved in the programs of the 1840's. Literacy programs began in the urban centers. Troy, New York, for instance, was becoming an industrial hub and needed literate workers. New York City, of course, was the mecca. Buffalo, Syracuse, etc. So literacy education is not new to our profession. It began in the public schools by public charge 140 years ago.

This type of education continued up until the Civil War. At that time, the urban centers of New York State became major producers of war material. This fact generated an expansion of adult education to include not only literacy education, but also occupational education to train people to build a war machine. Not different again from what we were called upon to do in World War I and again in World War II and more recently with our rearmament programs of the last few years.

Following the Civil War, migration from the farms increased ten-fold. People left the marginal farms and moved into industrial societies. The need for literacy education increased.

At the turn of the century, a major change occurred. On the eastern seaboard, primarily in the New York City area, the Boston area, and the Philadelphia area, we began to receive major influxes of Southern Europeans, Eastern Europeans, Central Europeans, who were the peasants of their society - primarily agrarian, primarily undereducated by our standards, and in need of what was called at that time Americanization. In our society, we could not stand to have people be different from the mainstream, and so we developed what was called Americanization programs.

New York City become the mecca for what we today call English as a Second Language. The Americanization programs were designed primarily to provide enough English-speaking skills so that people could become articulate enough to find jobs, articulate enough to understand the laws, and articulate enough to become consumers. While motivations

for these programs may not have been the loftiest, we were nevertheless responding to a social concern and meeting real needs in providing this type of education.

Since one outcome of Americanization Programs was to develop voting citizens, a literacy level of approximately fourth grade in English was the objective. Also provided was a study of civics and how the government operated. The ultimate goal for individual students was citizenship. While many good things happened in those programs, perhaps unintentionally there also was implied the onus that Americanization was good while ethnic cultural differences were perhaps not so good. We have came a long way from that negativism, I hope.

Literacy education continued as the influx of immigrants continued right up until World War I. In the interim between 1900 and World War I, the federal government for the first time got into the business of funding states for education. The first federal funding for education was occupational education included in the Smith-Hughes Act which was a landmark type of program. It funded occupational education but beautifully did not set any age limits. So adults as well as children were aidable in the public school delivery system under this Act. For the first time we had three sources of funds for adults - we had federal aid for occupational education, the state impetus for literacy, and the responsibility at the local level with local taxation producing programs for adults. So World War I brought a major shift of focus from literacy to occupational education. It should be noted in that New York City - the New York City Board of Education - produced one of the largest occupational education programs in the country to train people to work. Classes were held in such places as the Brooklyn Navy Yard, which illustrates that the idea of getting out into the community is not exactly brand new. Adult educators have been doing it for some time.

Following World War I, the McCarran Act, which established quotas for various nationalities, was instituted. It cut down on immigration, especially of Asians, but also curtailed a number of Europeans from Southern Europe and certain areas of Central Europe. However, there was such a large population of immigrants still unserved that had arrived prior to the McCarran Act that programs in Americanization continued to be a major program in New York State. These immigrants were the disadvantaged populations of that era. New York State was the national leader in providing educational opportunity to them. Americanization programs went on until World War II, and continues to the present in muted fashion in citizenship curriculums.

With the arrival of the Depression of 1929, one of the Golden Eras of adult education came to be. The federal government provided jobs to the unemployed through such programs as the WPA, the PWA and a number of other alphabetical programs formed by Roosevelt's New Deal. Again the motivation may not have been totally altruistic. You see revolutions aren't begun by illiterates; revolutions are begun by intellectuals, and we had a lot of college professors out of work. So we put them to work in adult education teaching such things as Americanization, teaching such things as consumerism. We put the great minds of the time to work teaching adults.

World War II rekindled occupational programs. After World War II, the G.I. Bill funded large numbers of returning serviceman into our state's and nation's colleges. Following World War II the public schools also had perhaps the greatest boom in adult education in New York State than they had experienced in the prior 100 years. Legislation which provided state aid for adult education of all kinds was enacted during the war and implemented right after the war. Anything that could be defined as education rather than recreation was fundable. Not large amounts compared to our inflated dollar, but large dollars for the time. $2.50 was provided for every 40 minutes of class time. If you ran a two-hour course you got $7.50 per student per session. Teachers were making $3.00 a hour at the time, so administrators could build solid budgets. We enjoyed the zenith of adult education at that time.

The climate of adult education at that time was very different from what we experience today. For example, it was illegal to charge fees, except for a minimal registration fee which was usually $1.00, $2.00 or $3.00. If you had charged fees, an equal amount would be deducted from your state aid dollars. So it made no sense to charge fees to your constituency. And so these programs were free. As a result, a great variety of courses and programs were offered, not limited to the literacy programs of previous decades.

Americanization continued, to be sure, but a great potpourri of cultural courses, social courses, civic affairs, dialogue courses and seminars were offered. They ranged the entire gamut. Seven hundred public school districts in New York State had programs of this type. It was the golden era.

I am afraid as with so many other good things we took it for granted and did not take care of it. We did not provide for quality control, and we lost that aid in 1959. It was modified in 1959, and in 1961 was completed obliterated.

And so we went into the dark ages of adult education in this state. From 1960 to 1964, the number of adult education programs in local public school districts dropped from 700 to 400. Local school districts had become so accustomed to state aid, and had forgotten the decades when local districts funded literacy with local tax-raised dollars. They were not committed if the state wasn't going to pay the bill. Many school boards put adult education up as a special item for the taxpayers to vote on - sort of throwing them a bone so taxpayers could have something to vote out of the budget, and it was usually adult education.

I mention all this because in spite of the fact that the public school delivery system in this state is 140 years old, it is still what I consider a non-system. It was based initially on local incentive which dwindled over the years as we become more and more enamored of children's education and devoted our commitment totally to children's education. It then was funded only through categorical aid that, as we all know, is great when you have it but can be cut off at any time, leaving a vacuum and collapse. And so we are new today, in spite of the fact we are 140 years old. We are just beginning a new venture as I see it with this new state aid package.

I still maintain, in spite of new dollars, that the public school adult delivery system remains a non-system. What are the characteristics that make it a non-system? First of all, it is an appendage tacked on to an institution that does not view it as its first and foremost priority. In fact, adult education is a very low priority in most districts. And as with all appendages, it's very vulnerable to being lopped off.

Secondly, there are no career ladders for people who work in adult education. We have not built in the opportunities for teachers and administrators to move upward. The small number of full-time directors in this state is abominable when you look at the total number of directors who are part-time, often doing a full-time job on a part-time salary. I don't call them part-time. I call them extra-time because they usually have full-time jobs in addition.

Thirdly, adult education as a profession lacks adequate certification and recognition of discrete skills. The State Education Department, and I take as much blame for this as anyone because I was part of their system, has ambiguous certification for adult education. A Ph.D. in adult education will not necessarily certify you to run a program, but if you have an elementary principalship license and never taken a course in adult education, you are automatically certified. This gives you some indication of the low priority we put on the special skills of adult educators.

We employ overworked, underpaid teachers who do not enjoy the fruits that the regular teachers in the regular system enjoy. These teachers have no opportunities for training because our universities and colleges have not, until very recently, even recognized the need for training and educating people who are responsible for adults, and we all know that their skills must be different from the skills of the traditional teacher of children.

Fourth, we have no plan or clear idea of the role of public school adult education. Adult education by its very nature has responded from crisis to crisis. We have not laid out a plan of what we want public education to do for the adults in the learning society that we have heard so much about in the last few years since the Mondale concept of lifelong learning. So while we have enjoyed a long history and have done some very wonderful things, we continue to be what I consider a non-system for adults in a very highly formalized system.

The public schools played a handsome role in meeting adult needs for over one hundred years and so it was a public school delivery system that provided these services. They were the only system to provide adult education. Most colleges and universities weren't interested and there were no community colleges until the 1950's. There were no BOCES either until the 1950's. The universities were too busy in the 1840's with the exception of Albany, which had a normal school. The rest of the higher education institutions were not concerned with the adult who was not going to get a degree.

And so we are looking now at a new horizon, and hopefully we can respond with the new impetus given us by the Legislature to become a legitimate part of the delivery system of public education.

Jean Napper:

While I am not speaking as an official representative of New York State, I will bring you observations about the constraints we have experienced in meeting the needs of adults in our state. I will also attempt to reflect some ideas shared with me for this conference by Garrett Murphy, Director of the Division of Adult and Continuing Education Programs of the State Education Department of New York.

Perhaps it would be helpful to offer an explanation of the unique relationship and decision-making power of local, state and federal entities in the United States as they relate to education. Education is not managed in the United States by a central ministry. Historically, autonomy in decisions about education has been granted by the federal

government to the states, who in turn have funneled much decision-making to local Boards of Education comprised of locally elected members.

The New York State Education Department serves and regulates the local school districts of the State. We supervise and regulate over 700 school districs, one of which is the New York City. In addition, the Department regulates all public and private colleges, museums and libraries, and proprietary schools. Within the State Education Department, the Division of Adult and Continuing Education Programs has responsibility for assisting and monitoring the adult programs in the public schools and regional vocational centers, known as the BOCES. Our functions include: distributing funds; monitoring federal and state requirements; providing staff development, research and evaluation; and consultive assistance.

We are a bureaucracy.

Mr. Gelpi mentioned in his opening address the need for teachers to keep in touch with the real world. This is an even greater necessity for a bureaucracy. The only way I know to minimize being a bureaucrat is to stay close to the field, listen to its problems, be responsive.

As we've heard frequently in these sessions - it isn't easy. So the question of leadership arises - the need for leadership that knows the field, listens to it, feels its pulse.

Mr. Gelpi shared his concept of a hierarchy of process components in achieving social commitment, with "philosophy" and "policy" on the top of his schematic pyramid. This component is a concern for those of us in the Department, as we examine the institution's degree of social commitment. Our concern is related to the fact that the primary mission of the public delivery system in the State is to educate children. Most of the State Education Department's management has no background or experience in adult education. As a result, we are often in the position of having to explain our own needs, explain the field's needs, and plead our own case within the bureaucracy, even fight to maintain our own funds. Adult educators are mavericks by nature, and so adult education is a maverick within the system.

Another concern of continuing education is that of the marginality of being an appendage and not a priority of the agency operating the program. This is true on the state level and also the local level. An example of the effects of marginality is the approach the State takes to certification of adult educators which results in absurdities. In 1984, any elementary principal or school lunch administrator

in a local school district could be deemed adequately certified to be an administrator of adult programs, while a person holding a Ph.D. in adult education without holding an elementary/secondary administrative certificate could not. Under current state certification requirements, many of our adult education teachers are vulnerable to being replaced during staff reductions by elementary and secondary teachers with seniority. Regulations regarding certification of adult educators have lagged far behind practice, and are an impediment to professionalism of adult education.

Another serious concern which we have begun to address is funding. There are two main problems with funding - one, it has been inadequate for a long time resulting in crisis management as managers dissipate energies in ways to solve funding problems. Two, funding can distort objectives.

With regard to the first concern - inadequate funding, it is sadly easy to identify outcomes of inadequate funding. We have lived for a long time with poor salaries, inflation eroding the dollars we have, vulnerability to budget cuts, inadequate supplies and books, and poor staff morale. Most troubling is the fact that for years, New York has had as many adults on waiting lists for literacy education as there were in classes. We have begun to address this problem with new funds for literacy, but have a long way to go.

The problem of funding distorting objectives is more subtle. You have noted our frequent reference to literacy. The emphasis is not accidental. In an era of low funding, our leaders are pragmatic. Literacy is the most likely program to be funded. This has been evident at the national level down to the state level. In many states such as California and Florida funding for literacy has existed for some time. New York was slower, but 1984 saw the resurgence of commitment to state responsibility for literacy. The State will be doubling available funds for literacy, making it possible to serve our waiting lists of adults wanting to learn to read or achieve high school diplomas. They have done this by using a formula for state aid that is tied to state aid for the public schools, institutionalizing the aid and making it safe from the inroads of inflation and categorical caps.

So how does this wonderful legislation distort objectives? By its focus on one dimension. And not so subtley, by the way available funds can dictate programming. In California, at least their funding is broader in concept, applying not only to literacy, but to programs for the elderly, consumer homemaking, life skills and occupational education. In New York, we can use this formula for life skills and some group counseling, but the focus though admirable, is narrow in focus.

This problem has been true historically. The advent of federal funds dictated program. Funded programs became the only programs. State Education Department staff that had had a broad view of adult needs and adult programming narrowed their efforts to those funded programs. In the 1950's, we promoted an enormous diversity of courses, many with intellectually challenging content and with overtones of social betterment and concern. Funding soon made our bureaus into ABE (Adult Basic Education) and HSE (High School Equivalency) bureaus. Funding changed the faces of our programs, and many fine and worthwhile activities were neglected.

The same thing happened with the Vocational Education Act. We forgot that adult education was more than ABE, more than vocational education.

How do we rekindle the commitment which existed in earlier years, as described by Mr. Mangano?

First of all, our new funding suggests that we are at a propitious time for a new beginning. We are at a transitional stage, where we are no longer marginal. That is good. But we may see a new set of problems related to our moving toward center stage.

Because we are becoming part of the system, we will be feeling greater political pressures. Many of the "maverick" things we used to do creatively will be more closely scrutinized. Pressure groups who didn't use to care how many students we had in a class will question our carefully developed program criteria. There will be greater pressure for quality control and accountability. Others may want to co-opt our turf now that we are "richer". There has already been much confusion as programs of the secondary system overlap and limit the flexibility of the adult programs. Things that adult educators have said and have known to be workable have been sheltered by our very "outsidedness", and are being challenged as we become more and more visible. We have to be careful because the "system" says welcome on the one hand and says, on the other hand, you are now truly a part of the public schools, and the public schools have rules and you will obey the rules. The challenge will be to become unmarginal and at the same time remain unfettered.

As Mr. Mangano said, we have a system that is not a system. Because adult education was nobody's business it became everybody's business. And so the BOCES, the colleges, the community based organizations began providing services while the policy makers were asleep - and we suddenly had a pluralistic non-system that has to learn to make the components work together. At times it is chaotic.

How do we make changes in a monolith? In New York, as I said, we've made a beginning with new state aid for literacy. These are other hopeful signs:

- Adult education is being discussed as never before on all levels of the Department's organization. It is sometimes amazing. Offices that had viewed us as a back-water are surprised and sometimes befuddled by the vitality and activity in our office. They are sometimes amazed by our understanding of the complexities of state aid, for example.

- There is greater awareness on all levels of what adult education is all about. This is particularly true of commissioner level management.

- There is greater genuine support by management which has been translated into real work for funding our programs.

- We have moved beyond marginality.

- We have begun to address issues of professionalism. More people have full-time jobs. More teachers are getting better salaries. There is a marked improvement in local program staffs' morale.

- We can feel good about our greater capacity to meet the needs of the educationally and economically disadvantaged in our communities. This alone speaks of a greater degree of social commitment.

- We have the potential to expand our support to other areas such as counseling and vocational education.

- We have the luxury of time to consider other issues, other needs now that funding solutions are at hand.

- We have a new sense of challenge.

I hope I have given you some insights into the constraining and driving forces within a state education department.

We will now consider another part of the public delivery system, the Two-Year Colleges.

May I present Dr. Eugene Monaco, Director of Public and Community Services at Hudson Valley Community College.

Eugene Monaco:

The commitment of the two-year community college to adult and continuing education grew out of the population explosion of college age students during the 1960's. Community

colleges were established to meet the needs of the large numbers of these students and to respond to the movement to democratize higher education for large numbers of students from diverse backgrounds. This democratization grew out of the idea, fostered by land-grant colleges, that everyone, regardless of economic or social background was entitled to an opportunity for higher education.

Part of this commitment was to provide a delivery system geared to the non-traditional student, coupled with non-traditional programs, such as extended learning sites, credit by examination, and credit for life experience - all programs which acknowledged adult needs, adult life styles, and adult experience. However, as the community college movement matured and the traditional full-time student again became the priority, interest in the adult learner and his or her special needs waned.

During the late 1970's and early 1980's, there were projections of drastic enrollment decline in community colleges. Chief executives of these two-year colleges and their business officers looked to adult learners for their registration fees for the institution's financial salvation. Their philosophical commitment to these students was and is questionable; their financial commitment to them as a resource was and is obvious. This is the first area of concern with respect to rekindling commitment. It is certainly a constraining force in social commitment. We must begin here to re-establish social commitment and a social conscience for those who would subvert the goals of the two-year college to financial ends above meeting adult needs.

Another concern relates to the distortion of program offerings to current fads or glamorous academic concentrations that disregard current thinking, and current data. As a prime example, let us examine the high technology emphasis so common today. Contrary to much of the current rhetoric about the great demand for high technology skills in the future, a recent study by Stanford University indicates slow growth in high technology occupations. While it is true that jobs for computer systems analysists will increase by more than one hundred percent between 1983 and 1990, only 200,000 jobs will be created. By contrast, there will be an increase in excess of 600,000 jobs for custodians and other service workers created during the same period. Recent Bureau of Labor Statistic's data indicate that high technology occupations will account for only seven percent of all new jobs between 1980 and 1990. Government estimates suggest that employment growth will favor jobs that require little or no training after high school.

Technology will continue to have a profound impact on many jobs by requiring new but not necessarily more sophisticated skills. One concern as we look to the 21st century is that the growth of robotics, lasers and other related computer software will cause an entire segment of the job market to be replaced or drastically reduced. Estimates indicate that robots could replace 1,000,000 operative jobs between now and the year 2000 and potentially eliminate 4,000,000 operative positions by 2025.

What impact will this dramatic change in occupations have on the future of continuing education? I would like to make several observations on new technology as a driving force.

First, let me state that general education requirements are not likely to be altered significantly by high technology. To the degree that present schools are deficient, better results should be sought for their own sake rather than claiming they are needed for a high technology future. Continuing education will benefit from dealing with general education requirements, the "trickle-up effect".

It is quite difficult to predict with any degree of accuracy what kinds of jobs people will be holding over their forty year working life, so it is in continuing education's best interest to provide good schooling which will in turn give individuals the foundation to adapt to changing jobs. In other words, basic and general education will continue to be a priority to us in the business of teaching adults.

Second, if requirements for the job market continue to change quickly, the continuing education system must be flexible enough to respond faster and more efficiently to training needs of business and industry. To accomplish this, continuing education administrators must develop linkages with industry so as to facilitate their providing industry-based training. Many two-year colleges have already begun such services on their campuses. It is a development which I feel will be accelerated in future years.

Another significant area on which continuing education should focus its attention is transition training. Transition training can have two very different applications - personal and job-related.

What we have found is that many individuals are looking for rewards outside of their current jobs or positions. Training programs have emerged which have focused on preparing them for personal risk taking inherent in change. The intent of transition training, then, is to help people to change - release their grasp on where they have been and grab hold of where they are going or want to go.

Transition training is significantly different from skills or job training in that it deals with human aspects of changing values, attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, emotions, language, and behavior. There will be need for cultural transition training in industry and organizations, particularly those experiencing growth or change. There will also be a need for personal transition training, particularly when people are changing roles within an organization, for example, training for supervisors who previously were technicians in a company.

Continuing education must be at the forefront in both of these areas. John Naisbitt, author of Megatrends, hints at agendas for transition training. Naisbitt describes megatrends as major transformations taking place now in our society. He includes in his list of megatrends the need to match new technology with compensatory human programs. He also focuses on the diversifying population of the United States as an industrial nation, and the need to let go of previous concepts of greatness. He describes a free-wheeling, multiple-option society. He promotes concepts of self-reliance, letting go, taking risk, uncertainty. This is the human side of change for which we as continuing educators will be designing programs in the 21st century. I see transition training as a significant focus for continuing education programming.

As you can note from my remarks, in our future I do not see a continuance of the traditional continuing education offerings of credit courses and vocational activities. We in continuing education have always been the forerunners of change and must continue in this capacity. Let the traditionalist cling to the old order while we move on to new frontiers.

The second issue which I was asked to comment upon today is to examine the constraining forces upon continuing education which may prevent successful implementation of lifelong learning programs.

In the November, 1985, issue of Lifelong Learning, a publication of the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education, Leonard P. Oliver summarized the constraining forces in adult and continuing education. His whole theme centered around his perception of adult education as lacking a sense of identity and lacking an overall policy which can guide lifelong learning. I tend to agree with Oliver's premise. It is easy for us to say that the main constraining force is a lack of money. Give us more money and we will get the job done.

I do not believe that legislators, whether they be on the local, state, or national level, will be sympathic to this

approach. Above all, what we need to do is to develop a common sense of social purpose - a professional raison d'etre. We need to give the profession a unity of purpose. If we believe in what John Naisbitt says in Megatrends, adult education will then have, by implication, a rather powerful role to play in society that will be essentially information based with decentralized institutions and governing bodies. There will be an increased use of self-help programs and strong movements for increased participation by citizens and workers in public and corporate life. We, as providers of adult education, then must learn how to be brokers in an institutional resource setting. We must become the link between providers and users. We must provide adaptability. By that, I mean we must be able to master the environment in which we find ourselves.

How is this seen as a constraint on the promotion of adult and continuing education? We must translate our role into operational terms. We must prescribe legislation which will give us the opportunity to be the educational brokers that I describe. We must support legislation which at first may not appear to be directly for educational purposes, for example, consumer education, small business development, job bills. We must become aggressive in fostering programs outside and within our institutions, which are more political in nature. We in adult and continuing education have prided ourselves on our flexibility and adaptability. We are in danger of being left behind or left out. Certainly, we must learn to use the new technologies as educational tools, as well as marketing devices to our benefit.

The major constraining force on adult and continuing education is that force that we ourselves are constrained by. We can and must be masters of our own environment. What we must do is organize, consolidate, cooperate, and form coalitions with a common sense of purpose, direction, and above all policy.

Jean Napper:

And now we consider the higher education delivery system. Our speaker is Dr. Jack Ether, Professor of Education, State University of New York at Albany.

Jack Ether:

I am going to address constraining and driving forces in higher education in adult education. The role of higher education in the development of adult education in the United States, particularly as that role is viewed from the perspective of social action and social justice, needs considerable explanation. Any such explanation must be neither defensive nor apologetic. The use of the word

"considerable" as a descriptor of "explanation" is a fine example of what I mean. In this case, "considerable" calls upon its quantitative connotation, not its value indicator nor its tongue-in-cheek meaning.

The need for explanation is based, in large part, upon the understanding that institutions have unique cultures and that these cultures are derived from the mission and tenure of the institution as well as the distinction that that institution has from all other institutions. The latter refers to generic as well as individual classifications.

Higher education has, over time, developed a culture that is very different from the culture of all other institutions. I would like to state just five of the aspects of life in higher education that differentiate it from other institutions, educational and other.

First, the professor is considered to be an independent entrepeneur. While he or she is located in an institution, major individual loyalty is to the profession being represented. His or her norms come from the major reference group, i.e., sociologist, educationist, physician. The verification for his or her research and teaching comes from the same source. This ties nicely with the second aspect of higher education culture that needs to be discussed.

It is clear that the professoriate is the most significant continuing role in the institution other than the students. In an institution of higher education that is exclusively concerned with teaching, students and professors are of equal importance; in an institution that has a significant research and/or development function, the relative importance changes. In either case, the basic mission of the institution is dependent upon the appropriate strenghth of the professoriate.

It follows from the two statements above that each professor must be an acknowledged expert in some field or area that is of importance to the institution in which he or she is functioning. If the professor is not an expert, then he or she cannot fulfill the role described. This is not to say that there are not many people currently holding the title of professor who are expert in nothing. That does not change the role. It merely says that there have been some poor selections made.

I enjoy saying that because the culturally defined role of the professor is as described, it is obvious that the role of administration is necessarily defined as manager of facilities and co-ordinator of activities. The administrator is certainly not the apex of the institution, nor is he

or she the ultimate judge of worth. How can he or she be when each of the professors is an independent entrepreneur, the most significant person in the institution and an acknowledged expert in a field? Through manipulation of resources, some administrators attempt to deny this cultural understanding.

Finally, the professor is charged with working in his or her field by teaching it or about it, by researching in it and by providing service to the people who are in it or related to it. The relationship between these three aspects of being a professor varies according to discipline, institution and predilliction of the individual, but the essence remains. Every professor does all three to some degree.

In order to relate the people working in higher education to the role of these same people in adult education, I must next indicate some of the aspects of adult education that I feel to be of significance at this time. I will limit this to three items for the purposes of this discussion.

In the first place, there is no agreement among adult educators about the nature of the client group nor about the goals of adult education. Whether or not the use to which the learned skill will be put is a criterion, whether or not self-satisfaction is a criterion, whether or not the teacher has a decision making role is a criterion are in dispute. When one suggests that social justice is a criterion for all other criteria, the confusion compounds.

The process for using adult education to ameliorate social problems varies from community to community. Of course there is the temptation to deny communities the right to differ on this issue, but that immediately leads to a denial of ourselves. This argument has been well developed elsewhere and need not be repeated here.

Finally, adult education as a process and as a system has not developed a clear sense of progression or of internal consistency. This lack of an agreed upon set of skills, goals or outcomes has lead the people working as adult educators both to repetition and to ommission. It has certainly lead to a lack of programmatic and personal career ladders.

The five descriptors of higher education and the three problems currently resident in adult education lead to the driving and constraining forces now bearing upon those of us in higher education who are involved in adult education. The first of the driving forces that I believe to be of importance is the sense of commitment that professors have to many communities. Because we are not constrained by the

institution in which we function, we can work from a commitment to an academic community, a social community or a goal defined community. Adult education activities that include personal fulfillment or social justice are just as desirable as economic improvement or credential.

A second driving force is located in the inherent mission of teaching and training as well as the inherent mission of research or locating new knowledge. The higher education adult educator is defined as one who is trying to locate appropriate answers to questions and to teach those answers, the new questions and the implications of both.

A final driving force that I wish to articulate, though not the last that exists, is that many professors believe in the good and the worth of adult education and they believe in social justice. Because of the mission they have accepted, these beliefs become significant.

Driving forces, however, are always met by constraining forces. There are four major constraining forces, I believe, that are currently inhibiting the relationship between higher education and adult education. These constraining forces are also derived from the statements in the first part of this paper. The first of these is one of volume. Even public institutions of higher education cannot respond to all the needs or fulfill all of the desires expressed by the public. Priorities must be set.

The fact that adult educators have not made their priorities explicit is the second constraining force. Without clear statements of the need for social justice through adult education, indeed for adult education qua adult education, the relativeness of adult education to all other claimants is not clear. Talking to ourselves is obviously not sufficient to achieve the power of this constraint.

A third force to be considered is generated by the lack of program consistency and career ladders within adult education groups. Without more clarity, institutions of higher education cannot respond strategically. A program for training adult educators can only come from a finite statement of what an adult educator is. Unless one takes the position that no training is needed, the power of this force is apparent.

Finally, and I believe most important, is that unless adult educators, broadly defined, respond to the items mentioned above they will continue to be unable to deliver to institutions of higher education the necessary currency. In higher education we exist on FTEs, or full time equivalents. In our culture, programs, people, travel, supplies and all those other good things are derived from the count of the number

of tuition paying students. The ratios vary as do the techniques for converting for various other payment techniques. However, the end result is the same. Unless we can deliver FTEs, those adult educators who are believers in the mission and culture of higher education will not be able to perform with the strength and vigor we should.

Jean Wappel:

The panel has described the driving and constraining forces in public adult education. In summation, we believe that a great level of social commitment should and can exist in public institutions. That commitment can exist effectively only if it exists at many levels of society. There must be a social commitment by society to provide the necessary resources. There must be commitment at all levels of government, but particularly at the state level where responsibility has been delegated.

Responsibility must also be shared by those institutions deemed to be deliverers of services. These institutions may be public or private - public schools, community colleges, higher education systems, libraries, museums, community based organizations, etc. It is a responsibility shared by all.

Public adult programs have enormous resources potentially available to them. Without these resources, the needs of adults cannot be met adequately in that the sheer number of adults needing services is too great. The private sector and community based sector cannot meet these needs alone. We share the responsibility.

Commitment must be assessed by individual adult educators whose responsibilities lie with their students. This commitment should produce strategies to meet the needs of the individuals served and society at large. The individual adult educator has a responsibility to effect change in the institution in which he/she functions, modifying practices where necessary. He/she should implement strategies to raise awareness to the need for social commitment.

Our panel has described the constraining forces in public adult education. We have also described the driving forces for good, both past and present. Our challenge is to make the driving forces greater than the constraining forces. We believe the key to meeting that challenge is shared. We also believe that the individual adult educator must assume his/her personal responsibility.

We accept the premise of this conference that a rekindling of commitment to social responsibility in adult education is necessary. Public adult education in New York has experienced a high level of commitment in the past. We acknowl-

edge that adult educators should be challenged to rekindle that commitment in the future by identifying the problems, utilizing the strengths, and continuing to work to improve and to make effective an imperfect but necessary system. To avoid this responsibility because these institutions are imperfect is to lose a valuable resource for good. Purity is a scarce commodity in all agencies, "grass roots" or mainstream.

Adult educators should also work to ensure that the public delivery system focus its resources on providing equality of opportunity and access to the great numbers of economically and educationally disadvantaged adults so that these adults will acquire the skills to function within the system and/or exercise their rights to modify and make needed changes. We believe if individual adult educators accept that challenge, they can bring about a higher level of social commitment while working within the system.

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